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Vol. V, 1956

HJALMAR LARSEN: A Second Dynasty Grave at Wardan, Northern Egypt . . . . .	3
STEN V. WÄNGSTEDT: Demotische „Leichenbegleitzettel“ mit Anweisung zur Einbalsamierung . . . . .	12
WALThER BJÖRKMAN: Die Anfänge der türkischen Briefsammlungen . . . . .	20
SVEN S. HARTMAN: La disposition de l’Avesta I . . . . .	30
GEO WIDENGREN: Recherches sur le féodalisme iranien . . . . .	79
GEORGES DUMÉZIL: Les pas de Krṣṇa et l’exploit d’Arjuna . . . . .	183
BENGT ANELL: The Polynesian Cities of Refuge . . . . .	189

Vol. VI, 1957

HJALMAR LARSEN: Eine eigenartige Tongefäß-Scherbe aus Merimde . . . . .	3
STEN V. WÄNGSTEDT: Aus der demotischen Ostrakonsammlung zu Uppsala. II . . . . .	9
BERNHARD LEWIN: Job d’Edesse et son Livre des Trésors . . . . .	21
FRITHIOF RUNDGREN: Über einige iranische Lehnwörter im Lateinischen und Griechischen . . . . .	31
STIG WIKANDER: Nakula et Sahadeva . . . . .	66
CARL GUSTAV DIEHL: Puṇyāhvācana . . . . .	97
BERTIL LUNDMAN: Blutgruppen und Stammeskunde der Juden . . . . .	107

Vol. VII, 1958

HJALMAR LARSEN: Verzierte Tongefäßscherben aus Merimde in der ägyptischen Abteilung des Mittelmeermuseums in Stockholm . . . . .	3
PETER KAPLONY: Sechs Königsnamen der 1. Dynastie in neuer Deutung . . . . .	54
STEN V. WÄNGSTEDT: Aus der demotischen Ostrakonsammlung zu Uppsala. III . . . . .	70
CARL-OTO NORDSTRÖM: The Water Miracles of Moses in Jewish Legend and Byzantine Art . . . . .	78
BERNHARD LEWIN: Le grand fauconnier de ‘Aziz-billāh al-Fāṭimi et son Kitāb al-Baīara . . . . .	110
HİLMI ZİYA ÜLKEN: Humanisme et littérature épique en Turquie . . . . .	122
SIEGFRIED LIENHARD: Der Pavanadūta des Dhoyi . . . . .	137
NILS SIMONSSON: Beobachtungen über die Bedeutung von <i>eka</i> in einigen philosophischen Texten . . . . .	159

Vol. VIII, 1959

ERIC SEGELBERG: Evangelium Veritatis—a confirmation homily and its relation to the Odes of Solomon . . . . .	3
URSULA KAPLONY-HECKEL: Acht demotische Prozesseide auf Ostraca . . . . .	43
HJALMAR LARSEN: Ein neolithisches Steingefäß aus Merimde in der ägyptischen Abteilung des Mittelmeermuseums . . . . .	69
OLOF GJERDMAN: The Ainu Language. A contribution . . . . .	73
LARS HARTMAN: Notes sur la récitation des textes avestiques . . . . .	93
ARNE MELVINGER: Quelques remarques sur le calendrier iranien moderne . . . . .	112

Vol. IX, 1960

Erik Gren † . . . . .	3
STIG WIKANDER: Ein Fest bei den Kurden und im Avesta . . . . .	7
NILS SIMONSSON: Sanskrit <i>na</i> , Tibetan <i>ma</i> <i>yin</i> . . . . .	11
HJALMAR LARSEN: Knochengeräte aus Merimde in der ägyptischen Abteilung des Mittelmeermuseums . . . . .	28
TORNY SÄVE-SÖDERBERGH: The Stela of the Overseer of Works Benya, called Pahekmen . . . . .	54
STEN V. WÄNGSTEDT: Aus der demotischen Ostrakonsammlung zu Uppsala. IV . . . . .	62
FRITHIOF RUNDGREN: Der aspektuelle Charakter des altsemitischen Injunktivs . . . . .	75
GEO WIDENGREN: The Fate of the Soul after Death . . . . .	102
OSCAR LÖFGREN: Zur Charakteristik des apokryphen Johannesevangeliums . . . . .	107
BERNHARD LEWIN: The Third Part of the Kitāb an-Nabāt of Abū Ḥanīfa ad-Dīnawari . . . . .	131
WALThER BJÖRKMAN: Die Beziehungen zwischen Schweden und der Türkei . . . . .	137
STURE LAGERCRANTZ: Observations on Block Traps . . . . .	154

O R I E N T A L I A  
S U E C A N A

*Edenda curavit*

*FRITHIOF RUNDGREN*

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BENGT J. PETERSON

## Archäologische Funde aus Sesebi (Sudla) in Nord-Sudan

Noch liegen bedauerlicherweise nur ein paar kurze vorläufige Berichte vor von den Grabungen der Egypt Exploration Society in Sesebi (Sudla) in Nord-Sudan, 1936–37 und 1937–38 unternommen<sup>1</sup>. Durch Subskription erwarb die ägyptische Abteilung des Medelhavsmuseet in Stockholm eine Anzahl Gegenstände, die von den Grabungen der ersten Saison 1936–37 stammen. Diese sollen hier vorgelegt werden. Es ist zu bemerken, dass es sich nur um eine Auswahl aus dem Gesamtfunde handelt, die in Stockholm aufbewahrt ist.

Die kleine Siedlung bei Sesebi (Abb. 1) umfasst hauptsächlich Tempelgebiet, Magazinsgebäude samt Wohnungsvierteln, alles von einer Stadtmauer eingefasst. Angelegt wurde diese kleine Stadt unter Amenophis IV., was mehrere Grundsteinbeigaben bezeugen. Indessen scheint der Platz schon unter den Thutmosiden bewohnt gewesen zu sein (vgl. JEA 23, 149); die Baureste und Umfassungsmauer stammen aber hauptsächlich aus der Zeit Amenophis' IV. Auch Spuren von weiterer Bewohnung gibt es; durch Inschriften, Skarabäen etc. sind Sethos I. und Ramses II. belegt. Die Glanzzeit der Siedlung war wohl also ungefähr 1400–1100 v. u. Z.

Die Fundstücke sind durchaus ägyptisch, wie man in dieser Zeit erwarten kann, als Nubien ganz ägyptisiert war. Kleinere Gegenstände, Amulette, Schmuckstücke etc. sind an Ort und Stelle fabriziert; unter den Sachen in Stockholm befindet sich u. a. eine Form für die Herstellung eines *wdjt*-Amulett. Die Skarabäen aber könnten gut Import aus Ägypten sein; die Qualität ist besser als durchschnittlich.

### Funde im Tempelgebiet

Aus einer Grundsteindeposition (Nr II) in dem Tempel stammen:  
MM 14299, Skarabäus aus blauer Fayence, L. 4,6, Br. 2,7, H. 1,8 cm.  
Grabungsnr 358. Auf der Rückseite steht: *imn-htp-nfr-hk-wst*, der Name Amenophis' IV. vor seiner Umkehrung zu ausschliesslichem Aton-Glauben (Abb. 2–4). Vgl. JEA 23, 148 und Taf. XVII: 2.

<sup>1</sup> JEA 23, 1937, 145 ff.; JEA 24, 1938, 151 ff.

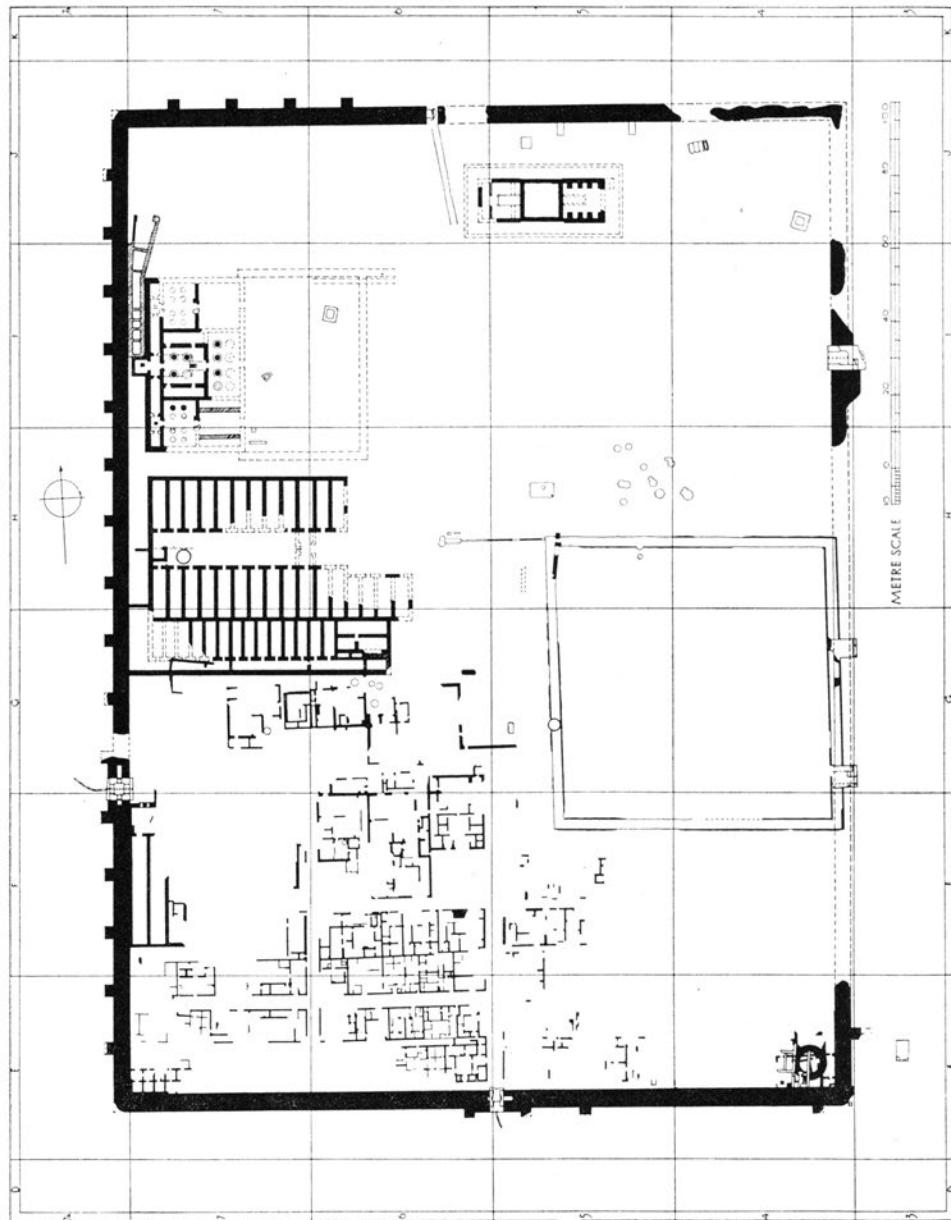


Abb. 1. Sesebi. Ausgrabungsplan nach JEA 24. Taf. 8.



Abb. 2–4. MM 14299.



Abb. 5. MM 18687, 18686, 18693.



Abb. 6–8. MM 14294.

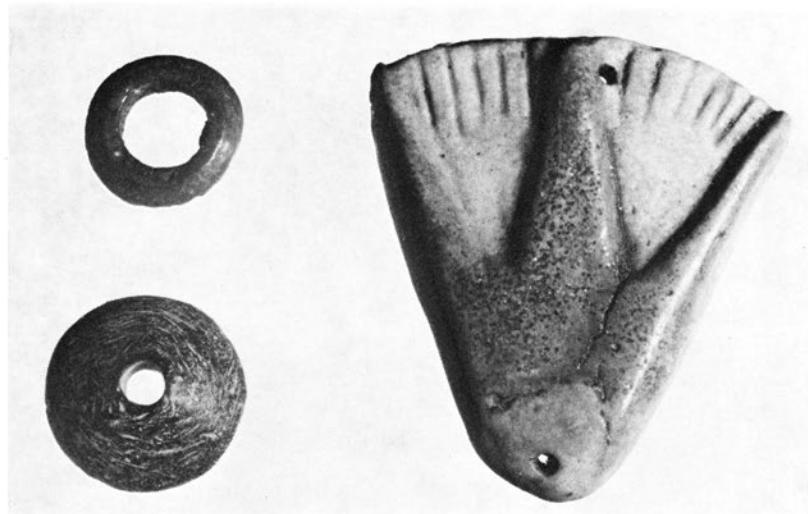


Abb. 9. MM 30643 (links oben), MM 30653 (links unten), MM 19443 (rechts).

MM 18684 –18710, 27 kleine Gefäße aus Keramik von drei Typen. Der erste Typus (Abb. 5, links) kommt dreimal vor, 6,6–6,8 cm hoch, der zweite Typus (Abb. 5, Mitte) nur einmal, H. 5,4 cm, während der dritte (Abb. 5, rechts) 23mal belegt ist, Diam. 8–9 cm, H. um 3,5 cm. Vgl. JEA 23, 148.

In der Pfeilerhalle, westlich von dem südöstlichen Pfeiler wurde gefunden:

MM 14294. Skarabäus aus grünglasiertem Steatit, L. 1,5, Br. 1,2, H. 0,7 cm, Grabungsnr 294. Auf der Rückseite ist ein Muster mit Spirlen von Lotusblüten und Lotusknospen<sup>1</sup> (Abb. 6–8).

In der Hypostylhalle, nordwestliche Seite:

MM 30643, Ring aus blauer Fayence, Diam. 1,7 cm, Grabungsnr 327.

<sup>1</sup> Vgl. Bulletin Medelhavsmuseet, Vol. 2, 1962, 29.



Abb. 10. MM 11423.

Zu klein als Fingerring, möglicherweise jedoch für ein Kind, aber wahrscheinlicher aus irgendeinem Schmuckstück, einem Halsband o. dgl. (Abb. 9).

Im Schutt beim Tempel fand man:

MM 11423, Kopf einer Statue aus schwarzem Granit, H. 23,7 cm, Grabungsnr 304 (Abb. 10–11). Der Kopf von guter handwerklicher Qualität ist ein Königskopf, trägt die weisse Krone mit Uräus, hat Rückenpfeiler (nur fragmentarisch erhalten). Er ist schwer beschädigt. Man hat ihn mit der Königin Hatschepsut identifiziert (JEA 23, 147)



Abb. 11. MM 11423.

und Taf. XVI: 1) was richtig scheint. Der Unterschied zu Thutmosis III. ist vor allem der kleine Mund. Der Kopf kann durch eine absichtliche Zerstörung während der Zeit Thutmosis' III. beschädigt worden sein.

Ohne besondere Fundangabe im Tempelgebiet ist:

MM 19443, Lotusblume aus Fayence, grün, gelb und weiss glasiert, Br. 4,7, L. 5,2 cm, Grabungsnr 292 (Abb. 9). Sie hat zwei Löcher für das Festnähen oder Aufhängen.

#### *Funde im Magazinsgebiet*

Von der Strasse zwischen Tempel und den Magazinen südlich von dem Tempel stammt:

MM 30653, Spindelrolle aus Steatit, Diam. 2,1 cm, Grabungsnr 340 (Abb. 9).

In dem Magazinsgebiet wurde im Grabungsviertel G 7 gefunden:

MM 19455, Abdruck von einem Kinderfuss, aus gebranntem Ton, L. 13,0, H. 5,5 cm, Grabungsnr 257 (Abb. 12). Es ist dies wohl ein Weihgeschenk von einfachem Charakter.



Abb. 12. MM 19455.

### Funde in den Wohnungsverderteln

#### Grabungsviertel E 6:

MM 19039, Form für die Herstellung eines *wd<sup>3</sup>t*-Auges, aus gebranntem Ton, L. 3,9 cm, Grabungsnr 116 (Abb. 13).

MM 30652, Spielstück aus gebranntem Ton, Diam. um 2,7 cm, Grabungsnr 158. Auf der Oberfläche vier eingeritzte Striche (Abb. 13).

#### Grabungsviertel E 7:

MM 14296, Skarabäus aus blauer Fayence, L. 1,8, Br. 1,3, H. 0,8 cm, Grabungsnr 443 (Abb. 14–16). Auf der Rückseite *nb-m<sup>3</sup>t-r<sup>c</sup>*, der Name Amenophis' III.

MM 30640, Fischamulette aus blauer Fayence, L. 1,7 cm, Grabungsnr 268 (Abb. 17). In dem Vorderteil ein Loch zum Aufhängen.

#### Grabungsviertel F 5:

MM 30646, Thoerisamulette aus blauer Fayence, H. 1,1 cm, Grabungsnr 466 B (Abb. 17). Loch zum Aufhängen weggebrochen.

#### Grabungsviertel F 6:

MM 14295, Skarabäus aus grünglasiertem Steatit, L. 1,8, Br. 1,4, H. 0,8 cm, Grabungsnr 243 (Abb. 18–20). Umgeben von zwei Uräen ist auf der Rückseite der Name Ramses' II. in einer Kartusche, *wsr-m<sup>3</sup>t-r<sup>c</sup>-stp-n-r<sup>c</sup>*.

MM 14292, Cowroid aus blaugrüner Fayence, L. 1,5, Br. 0,9, H. 0,6 cm, Grabungsnr 359 (Abb. 21–23). Auf der Rückseite sind abgebildet die Nilpferdgöttin Thoeris und ein *nfr*-Zeichen.



Abb. 13. MM 30652 (oben), MM 19039 (unten).



Abb. 14–16. MM 14296.

MM 14293, Skarabäus aus Steatit (einmal blaugrün glasiert), L. 1,3, Br. 0,9, H. 0,5 cm, Grabungsnr 198 (Abb. 24–26). Auf der Rückseite Hieroglyphenzeichen, vielleicht *nb n=k*.

MM 30639, Ohrring aus grünlicher Glaspaste, Diam. 1,7 cm, Grabungsnr 224 (Abb. 17).

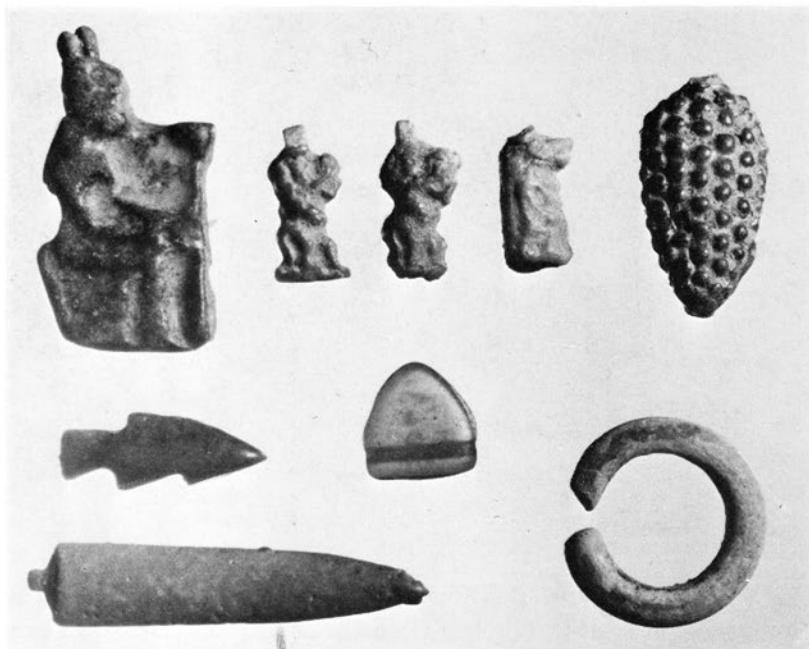


Abb. 17. Oben: MM 30638, 30645 a-b, 30646, 30637. Unten: MM 30640 (links oben),  
30636 (Mitte), 30641 (links unten), 30639 (rechts).



Abb. 18-20. MM 14295.



Abb. 21-23. MM 14292.



Abb. 24–26. MM 14293.

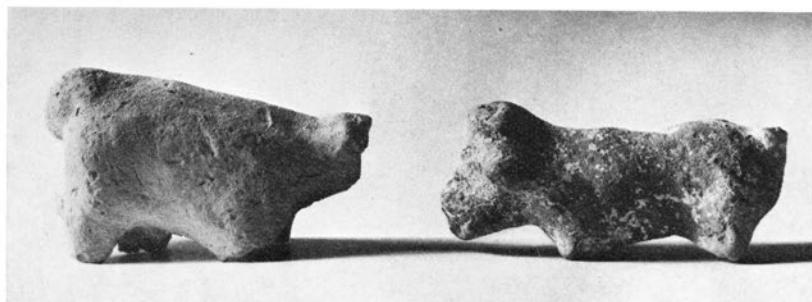


Abb. 27. MM 19479 (links) und MM 19480.

MM 30645 a–b, Zwei Bes-Amulette aus blauer Fayence, H. 1,3 cm, Grabungsnr 399 (Abb. 17). Der Gott Bes ist hier mit einem Tamburin dargestellt. Die zwei Amulette sind identisch und haben Löcher zum Aufhängen.

MM 19479, Kuh aus gebranntem Ton, L. 5,5, H. 3,3 cm, Grabungsnr 210. Nur fragmentarisch erhalten. Mit grossem Euter. Spielzeug. (Abb. 27.)

MM 19480, Hund (?) aus gebranntem Ton, L. 5,6, H. 2,4 cm, Grabungsnr 196. Nur fragmentarisch erhalten. Spielzeug. (Abb. 27.)

MM 30671, Randstück eines Gefässes aus Keramik, L. 12 cm, Grabungsnr 197. Mit halbplastischem Kopf der Göttin Hathor. Details teilweise schwarz gemalt. (Abb. 28.)

MM 30638, Amulett aus blaugrauer Fayence, H. 2,7 cm, Grabungsnr 180 (Abb. 17). Stellt die Göttin Sechmet sitzend mit *w<sub>3</sub>d*-Szepter dar.

MM 30637, Traube aus blauer Fayence, L. 2 cm, Grabungsnr 155. Teil eines Schmuckstückes. (Abb. 17.)

MM 30641, Pflanzenblatt aus grüner Fayence, L. 3,3 cm, Grabungsnr 192 (Abb. 17). Teil eines Schmuckstückes.

MM 30636, Pendant aus grünem Glas, L. 1 cm, Grabungsnr 350 (Abb. 17). Teil eines Schmuckstückes.

MM 30642, Ohrring aus Bronze, Diam. 2,4 cm, Grabungsnr 230 (Abb. 29.).



Abb. 28. MM 30671.

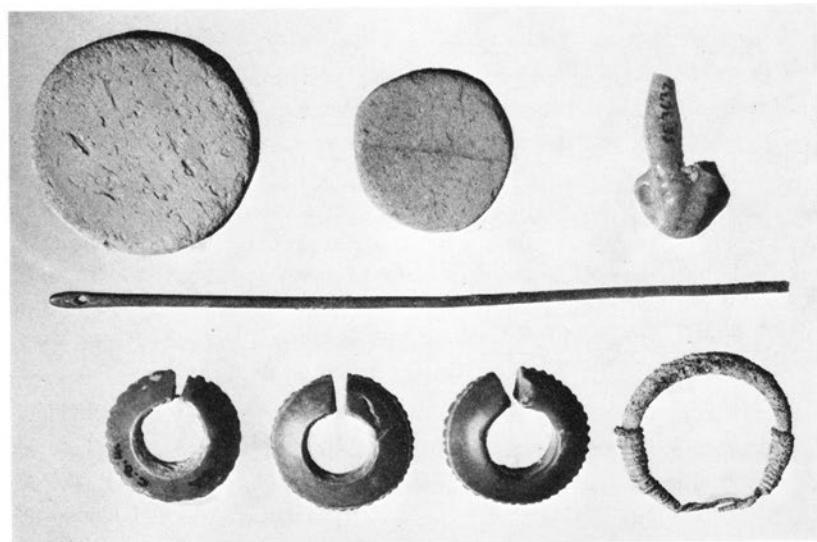


Abb. 29. Oben: MM 30651, 30650, 30644. Mitte: MM 30649. Unten: MM 30648  
30647 a-b, 30642.



Abb. 30–32. MM 14297.

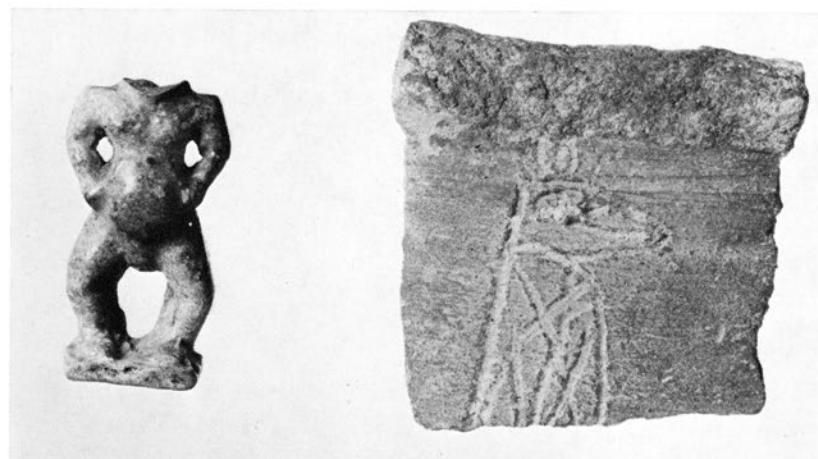


Abb. 33. MM 19447 (links), 30672 (rechts).

Von verschiedenen Grabungsvierteln auch ausserhalb der Siedlung innerhalb der Mauer stammen verschiedene Sachen:

#### H 10

MM 14297, Skarabäus aus grünglasiertem Steatit, L. 1,2, Br. 0,9, H. 0,6 cm, Grabungsnr 69 (Abb. 30–32). Auf der Rückseite ein fliegender Skarabäus.

#### H 11

MM 30647 a–b, Zwei Haarringe aus Karneol, Diam. 1,9 cm, Grabungsnr 44 a–b (Abb. 29). Der äussere Rand ist gekerbt.

#### C 8

MM 30648, Haarring aus Karneol, Diam. 1,8 cm, Grabungsnr 83 (Abb. 29). Der äussere Rand ist leicht gekerbt.

#### G 5

MM 30649, Nadel aus Bronze, L. 9,8 cm, Grabungsnr 237 (Abb. 29). Mit Auge.



Abb. 34-35. MM 19400.

Ohne besondere Fundangaben zugänglich sind folgende Gegenstände:  
MM 30650, Spielstück aus gebranntem Ton, Diam. um 2,1 cm, Grabungsnr 113 a (Abb. 29). Eine Linie quer eingeritzt.

MM 30651, Spielstück aus gebranntem Ton, Diam. um 3 cm, Grabungsnr 113 b (Abb. 29).

MM 30644, Kopf eines Uräus aus blauer Fayence, L. 2,2 cm, Grabungsnr 165 (Abb. 29). Fragmentarisch.

MM 19447, Figur eines Zwerggottes aus grüner Fayence, H. 3,9 cm, Grabungsnr 37 (Abb. 33). Soll wohl Patek darstellen.

MM 30672, Randstück eines Gefäßes aus Keramik,  $5 \times 5$  cm, Grabungsnr 16 (Abb. 33). Eingeritzt ist hier ein Bild, das vielleicht als die Nilpferdgöttin Thoeris aufgefasst werden muss. Dies ist jedoch fraglich.

MM 19400, Fragment einer Ushebtifigur aus grüner Fayence, H. 5,2 cm, Grabungsnr 430 (Abb. 34-35). Mit Fragmenten des üblichen Textes des Totenbuchkapitels 6.

## Fragmente aus einem Totenbuch der 18. Dynastie

Totenbuchfragmente zu veröffentlichen gehört zu den undankbarsten Aufgaben der Ägyptologie, sind aber immerhin notwendig, wenn man einmal fruchtbare Studien mit diesen Texten betreiben will. Ideal muss ein Corpus sein, die Aussichten für eine solche Sammlung der Totenbuchtexte sind aber betrüblich. Indessen möchte ich gern hier einige Fragmente vorführen, die zu einer schwedischen Privatsammlung gehören, die leicht den Augen der Ägyptologen entgehen kann. Durch diese Fragmente möchte ich auch die Aufmerksamkeit auf ein Totenbuch im British Museum lenken, das merkwürdigerweise noch recht unbekannt und unveröffentlicht ist (auch nicht einmal in Shorters Catalogue aufgenommen), obwohl es sich seit dem vorigen Jahrhundert in diesem Museum befindet.

Als ich mich 1964 in London aufhielt, fand ich nämlich, als ich mit freundlicher Genehmigung der Leitung der ägyptischen Abteilung des British Museum die Totenbücher durchsah, dass der Papyrus BM 10489 für denselben Mann, den auch die Fragmente in Stockholm erwähnen, gemacht war. Es ist dies ein Totenbuch für den Vorsteher der Bauarbeiter des Amon (*mr kd.w n imn*) und Vorsteher der Arbeiten in dem Hause der Mut (*mr kȝt m pr mwt*) Amonhotep, geboren von der Hausfrau Kam (象) und erzeugt von dem Vorsteher der Bauarbeiter (*mr kd.w*) und Richter (*sȝb*) Sena (象). Amonhoteps Frau, die in BM 10489 erwähnt ist, heisst Mutresti (象) und ist mit „Hausfrau“ tituliert. Ein Sohn Sennefer ist auch erwähnt.

Der hieroglyphische Text in dem BM-Papyrus wie der auf vier Fragmenten hier in Schweden ist retrograd geschrieben. Mehrere farbige Vignetten sowie Reihen von Sternen oben und unten schmücken den langen BM-Papyrus, der folgende Totenbuchkapitel enthält: 85, 83, 84, 88, 82, 77, 155, 156, 102, 136 A & B, 149, 150, 126, 125, 116, 112, 113, 96, 97, 108, 109, 146, 144, 100, 99. Der Anfang dieses Papyrus ist verlorengegangen. Auf der Rückseite befindet sich ungewöhnlicherweise

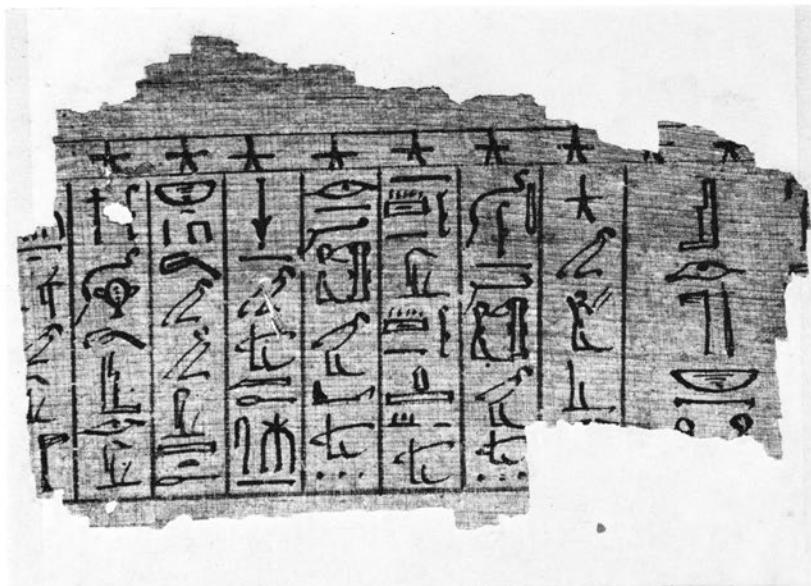


Abb. 1.

auch ein Text: eine horizontale Reihe von grossen Hieroglyphen läuft vom Ende der Handschrift (also mit Anfang auf der Rückseite des letzten Teiles der Vorseite) bis zum weggerissenen Anfang des Papyrus. Dieser Text enthält Gebete, *htp-di-nsw*-Formel, Gebete an Amon-Re, Sechmet, Atum und Harachte. Dieser Text auf der Rückseite ist m. W. einzigartig in einem Totenbuch, obwohl dessen Funktion offenbar ist. Die Datierung des BM-Papyrus kann man ohne weiteres auf die 18. Dynastie festlegen, genauer in die Zeit Thutmosis' III – Amenophis' II. Nicht zuletzt die Titel der Männer, Amenhoteps und seines Vaters, sondern auch die Gebete auf der Rückseite, u. a. an Sechmet, hier genannt „*die Herrin von Ascher*“, weisen auf Theben als Heimatort des Besitzers des Buches. Die genaue Herkunft ist allerdings unbekannt.

Der Text mit seinen vielen Kapiteln ist sehr gut und frei von den üblichen Nachlässigkeiten und Fehlern, die so oft in den grösseren Totenbüchern vorkommen. Man könnte wohl diesen Text als Vorlage für Textstudien des Totenbuches der 18. Dynastie verwenden. Daher verdient dieses Buch mehr Aufmerksamkeit.

Die fünf Fragmente, die sich z. Zeit in Stockholm befinden und deren Herkunft unbekannt ist, gehören ohne Zweifel zu dem BM-Papyrus und



Abb. 2.

könnten von dessen verlorengegangenem Anfang stammen. Paläographie, Disposition der Zeilen, die Reihen von Sternen sowie die Qualität des Papyrus stimmen überein. Leider ist es nicht möglich, auf der Rückseite zu kontrollieren, ob es auch da die Gebete mit den grossen Hieroglyphen geschrieben gibt, weil diese Fragmente unauflöslich auf Karton geleimt sind. Natürlich gibt es die Möglichkeit, dass die Fragmente aus einem zweiten Totenbuch desselben Mannes stammten; dies kommt jedoch selten vor. Wie man auf dem ersten Fragment hier unten sehen kann, stimmen zuletzt ja auch Namen und Titel gut überein<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Ausserdem muss darauf hingewiesen werden, dass es sonderbar wäre, wenn der BM-Papyrus Kapitel 17 nicht haben sollte, eins von den wichtigsten Totenbuchkapiteln, was nun der Fall ist. Daher spricht auch das Vorkommen von diesem Kapitel auf vier von den Stockholmer Fragmenten für die Zusammenghörigkeit mit dem BM-Papyrus.

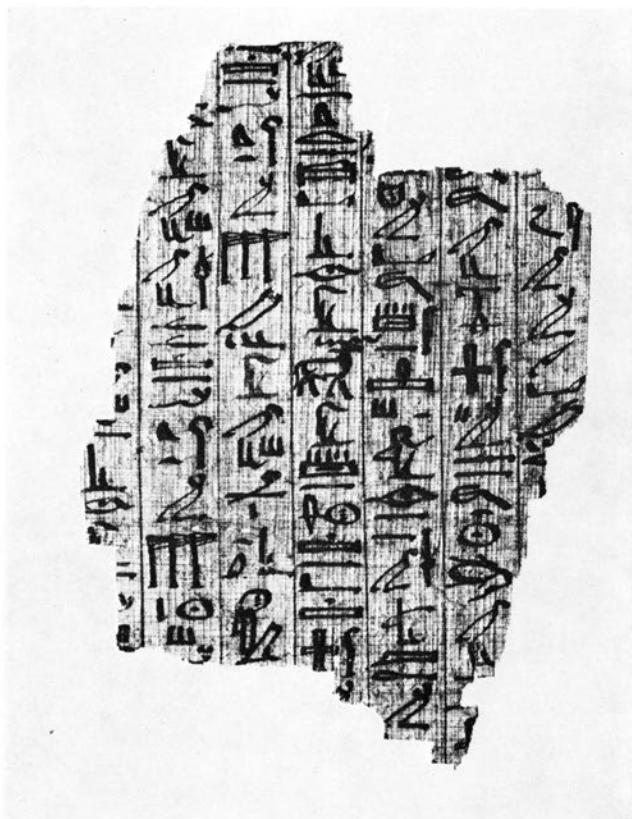


Abb. 3.

Fragment 1,  $15 \times 9$  cm (Abb. 1). Der Text ist ganz mit schwarzer Tinte geschrieben. Ganz rechts steht eine Beischrift zu einem Bild: „Osiris, der grosse Gott, der Herr der Ewigkeit ...“ Dann folgt der Anfang eines Gebetes an Osiris: „Gepriesen sei Osiris. Worte zu sprechen von dem Vorsteher der Bauarbeiter des Amon Amonhotep, erzeugt von dem Vorsteher der Bauarbeiter Sena, dem seligen, geboren von der Hausfrau Kam (↶ ⌽ ⌽) der seligen. Gegrüßt seist Du, Osiris, an der Spitze der Westlichen, [grosser] Gott ...“

Der allgemeine Charakter des Textes ist typisch für Anfangsstücke, die zusammen mit Bilderdarstellungen vorkommen. Man könnte an

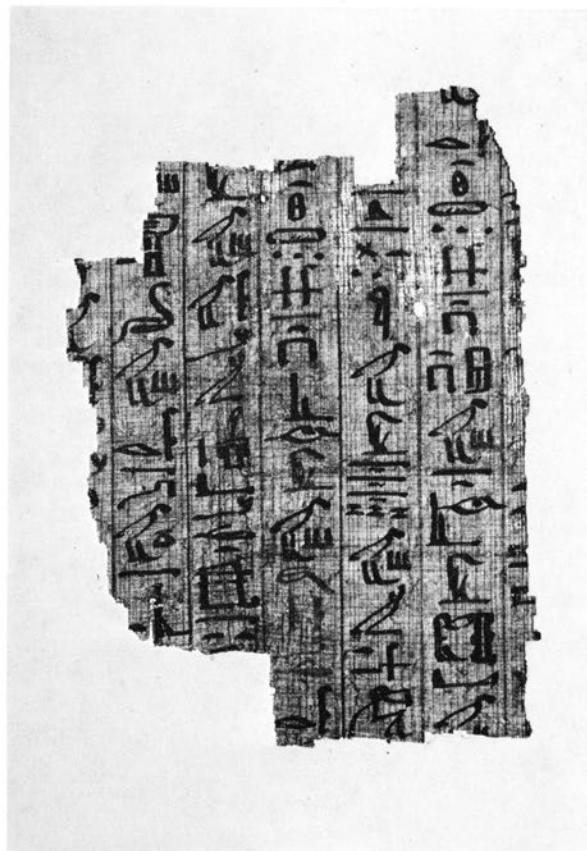


Abb. 4.

einen Anfang denken, wo der Tote dargestellt war, indem er und eventuell auch seine Frau vor Osiris standen.

Fragment 2, 13,5 × 9 cm (Abb. 2). Schwarze Tinte mit Ausnahme von *pw tr rf sw* in Zeile 5 von links und *kj dd* in Z. 6 von links, was rot geschrieben ist. Hier sind Bruchstücke aus Kapitel 17 B, die Abschnitt 24 und 25 nach Grapows Texteinteilung entsprechen.

Fragment 3, 13,5 × 9,5 cm (Abb. 3). Schwarze Tinte mit Ausnahme der Fragmente der Gruppe *dd* am Anfang von Z. 7 von links, was rot ist. Hier sind weitere Bruchstücke aus dem 17. Kapitel, die den Abschnitten 27, 28, 29, 30 & 31 entsprechen.

Fragment 4, 12 × 8,5 cm (Abb. 4). Nur *kj dd* in Z. 4 von links ist



Abb. 5.

rot geschrieben, sonst ist alles schwarz. Von dem 17. Kapitel kommen hier Bruchstücke aus den Abschnitten 32 und 33 vor.

Fragment 5,  $14,5 \times 8,5$  cm, (Abb. 5). Zeile 1 ist schwarz geschrieben, Z. 2, 3 & 4 sind rot, Z. 5 ist rot mit Ausnahme von *wsir*, und Z. 6 ist auch rot mit Ausnahme von *nbt-h̄t*. Z. 1 gibt nur ein Stück der Genealogie des Amenhotep. Z. 2 ff ist aus dem 130. Kapitel und Z. 4 ff. ist dazu eine zusätzliche Variante.

STEN V. WÄNGSTEDT

**Demotische Steuerquittungen nebst Texten  
andersartigen Inhalts**

Von den unten veröffentlichten vierundfünfzig Dokumenten gehören sechzehn der demotischen Ostrakonsammlung des ‚British Museum‘ an, hier DO BM bezeichnet. Fünf Texte stammen aus den Sammlungen des ‚Ashmolean Museum‘, Oxford<sup>1</sup>. Diesen sind die Kennzeichnen DO A (Demot. Ostr. Ashmolean) bzw. DO B (Demot. Ostr. Bodleian) gegeben worden. Drei Dokumente, welche unter der Bezeichnung DO W, DH W und DM W erscheinen, gehören zu der Sammlung des Verfassers.

Die Dokumente sind in photographischer Aufnahme oder in Durchzeichnung wiedergegeben.

Der Inhalt der Texte ist sehr verschiedenartig. Nr. I (DO B 1019) und Nr. II (DO BM 20162) sind ptolemäische Quittungen über Bargeld, von denen die erste eine Privatquittung sein dürfte. In Nr. III (DO B 949) und Nr. IV (DO BM 12579) ist — ohne Angabe der Höhe oder der Art des Betrags — für Badeabgabe (*hmt* bzw. *ln.t < n > s.t-ijwn*) quittiert. Die Dokumente, von denen das letztere eine Tempelquittung ist, datieren vom Jahr 38 bzw. 30 des Augustus. Nr. V (DO BM 31449) ist eine vom Jahr 2 des Augustus datierende Quittung über Krappsteuer. Nr. VI (DO BM 43649) ist eine Abrechnung über Weizen, zeitlich ptolemäisch. Nr. VII (DO BM 12604), Nr. VIII (DO BM 20145), Nr. IX (DO BM 31874), Nr. X (DO BM 43591) und Nr. XI (DO BM 23399) sind Bescheinigungen über Weizen. Bis auf Nr. VII, welche aus ptolemäischer Zeit datiert, sind alle frührömisch. In Nr. XII (DO BM 29738), ein Gebelén-Urkunde aus ptolemäischer Zeit, ist für Rizinus quittiert worden. Nr. XIII (DO BM 31500) ist eine, wahrscheinlich frührömische, Bescheinigung über Strohlieferung. Nr. XIV (DO W 88) und Nr. XV (DO BM 21406) sind aus ptolemäischer bzw. römischer Zeit stammende Bescheinigungen über Weinlieferungen. Betreffs Nr. XIV ist die Rubrizierung etwas unsicher. Nr. XVI (DO BM 12581) und Nr. XVII (DO BM 25894) sind Bescheinigungen über Tempelkollekte (*λογεία*). In

<sup>1</sup> In Orientalia Suecana 14–15 1966 sind die folgenden Berichtigungen zu machen: Nr. X. DO A 448 statt DO B 448, Nr. XVI. DO A 593 (im Text), Nr. XVIII. DO A 768 statt DO A 468.

beiden Dokumenten, welche aus dem Jahr 54/55 bzw. 142 datieren, treten Isionomen auf: in dem ersten als Zahlender und in dem zweiten als Empfänger der Kollekte. Die letzteren nennen sich „Isionomen der (Göttin) Neit“. Nr. XVIII (DH W 49) ist ein auf beiden Seiten beschriftetes Holztäfelchen. Die Urkunde, aus frühptolemäischer Zeit, enthält teils eine Bescheinigung über Begräbnissteuer (Vs), teils eine Quittung über eine nicht identifizierte Abgabe (Rs). Nr. XIX (DO BM 26200) und Nr. XX (DO BM 43513), beide aus römischer Zeit, enthalten Verkaufslisten über von verschiedenen Göttern und Göttinnen geheiligte Blumensträusse. Nr. XXI (DO A 3), ein wahrscheinlich römisches Dokument, enthält ein Verzeichnis über Öfen und ihre Gebrauchszeiten. Nr. XXII (DO B 1301) zeigt eine Abrechnung über Lieferungen von Naturalien und Nr. XXIII (DO B 797) enthält eine Art Rechnung. Die Datierung der beiden letzten Dokumente ist unsicher. Nr. XXIV (DM W 24) schliesslich ist eine beschriftete Mumienbinde aus römischer Zeit.

### Quittung über Geldzahlung

I. DO B 1019. Grösse: 10 × 6,4 cm. Theben. Frühptolemäische Zeit.

#### Transkription

1. *Pa-Wn s<sub>3</sub> Pa-Thwtj p<sub>3</sub> ntj dd n Hr-m-hb s<sub>3</sub> Ns-Mn*
2. *tw=k n=j ht-kt 1 1/2 r str 1/2 1/4 r ht-kt 1 1/2 n*
3. *[sh] P<sub>3</sub>j-k<sub>3</sub> <n> h<sub>3</sub>.t-sp 6 ibt-2 pr sw 2*

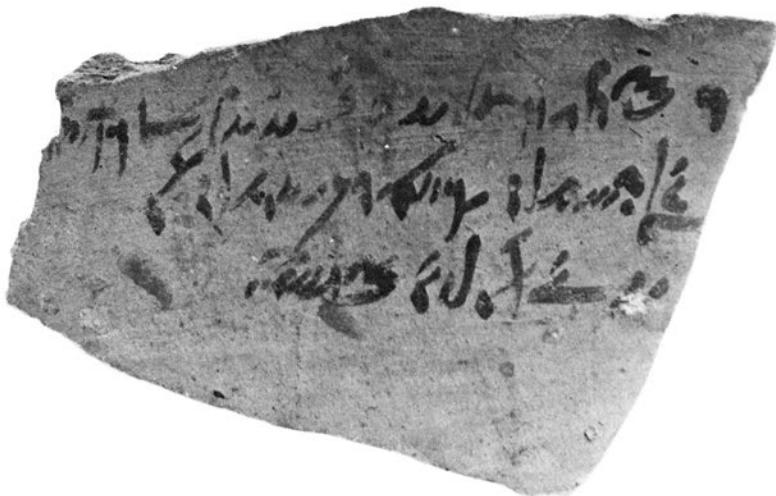
#### Übersetzung

1. Pauon, Sohn des Pathoth, ist es, der sagt zu Horemheb, dem Sohn des Esmin:
2. „Du hast mir gegeben 1 1/2 Silber-Kite = 3/4 Stater = 1 1/2 Silber-Kite wiederum.“
3. [Es hat geschrieben] Piko (im) Jahr 6, am 2. Payne.

### Bemerkungen

Z. 1. Zur Schreibung des Namens *Hr-m-hb*, Horemheb, vgl. Mattha, Demotic Ostraka, Nr. 9/1. — Der Name des Vaters ist m. E. *Ns-Mn*, Esmin, zu lesen. Zu verschiedenen Schreibungen des Gottesnamen *Mn*, Min, vgl. Erichsen, Demot. Glossar, S. 159.

Z. 3. *P<sub>3</sub>j-k<sub>3</sub>*, Piko. Die Schreibung ist ungewöhnlich. — Jahr 6 dürfte, der Schrift nach zu schliessen, die auf fröhptolemäische Zeit hinweist,



I. DO B 1019.

entweder Ptolemaios III. Euergetes 6 (=242/41 v. Chr.), Ptolemaios IV. Philophator 6 (=217/16 v. Chr.) oder Ptolemaios V. Epiphanes 6 (=200/199 v. Chr.) sein.

### Quittung über Geldzahlung

II. DO BM 20162. Grösse:  $9,2 \times 8,5$  cm. Wahrscheinlich Jahr 94/93 v. Chr.

#### Transkription

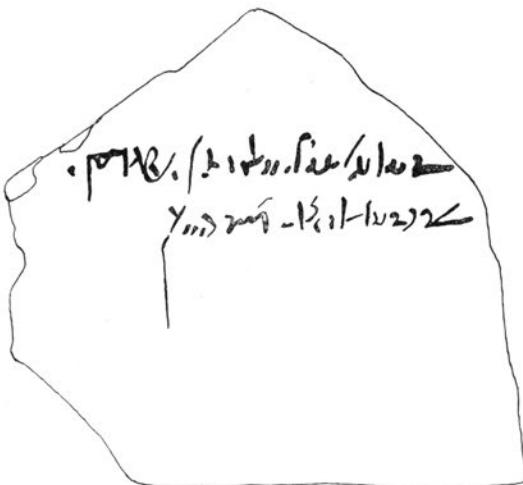
1. *in Pȝ-tj-Hr-pȝ-hrt sȝ Pȝ-šr-Hnsw kt 1/2 1/12 sh*
2. *Nht-t-Mnȝ n hȝ t-sp 21.t ibt-4 sw 29*

#### Übersetzung

1. Es hat bezahlt Peteharpekhrat, Sohn des Pshenchons, 1/2 1/12 Kite.  
Es hat geschrieben
2. Nechtmouth im Jahr 21, am 29. Pharmuthe.

#### Bemerkungen

Z. 1. Statt *Pȝ-tj-Hr-pȝ-hrt*, Peteharpekhrat, ist die Lesung *Pȝ-tj-Hr-pȝ-R'*, Peteharpre, auch möglich. — Das Zeichen für *sh* „schreiben“ ist mit der voranstehenden Ziffer zusammengeschrieben. Der schräge Strich in dem Bruch 1/12 fehlt. Es ist möglich, dass er bei der Durchzeichnung übersehen worden ist.



II. DO BM 20162.

Z. 2. Jahr 21 kann entweder Ptolemaios VI. Philometer 21 (=161/60 v. Chr.) oder Ptolemaios X. Alexander I. 21 (=94/93 v. Chr.) sein. Die spätere Datierung scheint mir am wahrscheinlichsten zu sein.

### Quittung über Badeabgabe

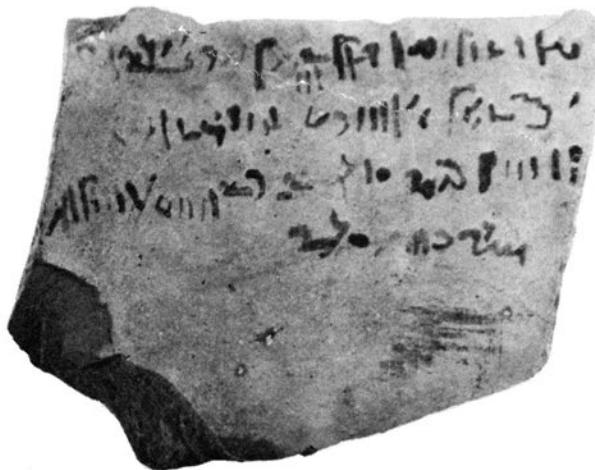
III. DO B 949. Grösse: 8,4 × 6,8 cm. Theben. Jahr 9/10 n. Chr.

#### Transkription

1. *P̄t̄-t̄j-H̄ns̄w s̄z P̄t̄-t̄j-īmn̄-ip̄j p̄z nt̄ dd n Pa-Mn̄t̄*
2. *s̄z Wn-n̄fr tw=j m̄h <n> h̄mt <n> s.t-*
3. *-ijwn n h̄z.t-sp 38 n Gjsrs*
4. *ibt-4 z̄h sw 22*

#### Übersetzung

1. Petechons, Sohn des Peteamenope, ist es, der sagt zu Pamonth,
2. dem Sohn des Uennofre: „Ich bin vollbezahlt (mit) (der) Abgabe des Ba-
3. des für Jahr 38 des Cäsar,
4. am 22. Choiakh.“



III. DO B 949.

### Bemerkungen

Z. 1. *Pa-Mnṭ*, Pamonth (𝔓ѧϣ). Die Lesung scheint mir sicher zu sein. — Die Präposition *n* „zu“ ist in Gestalt eines schrägen Striches wiedergegeben.

Z. 2–3. *hmt* ⟨*n*⟩ *s.t-ijwn* „Badeabgabe“. Über diese für die Instandhaltung der öffentlichen Bäder erhobene Abgabe siehe Mattha, a. A., S. 57 f. — Jahr 38 = Augustus 38 = Jahr 9/10 n. Chr.

### Quittung über Badeabgabe

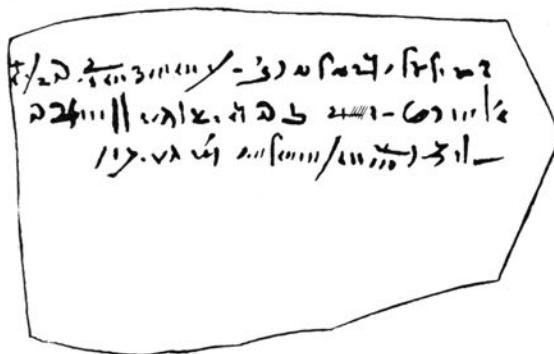
IV. DO BM 12579. Grösse: 9,8 × 6 cm Theben (Karnak). Jahr 1/2 n. Chr.

#### Transkription

1. *Hnsw-Tḥwtj sȝ Pa-Mnṭ pȝ ntj dd n Lsjmks sȝ ȝpl*
2. *tw=j mḥ n tȝj=k h̄n.t* ⟨*n*⟩ *tȝ s.t-ijwn*
3. *n hȝ.t-sp 30* ⟨*n*⟩ *Gjsrjs ibt-3 šm sw 26*

#### Übersetzung

1. Chensthoth, Sohn des Pamonth, ist es, der sagt zu Lysimakos, dem Sohn des Apollo (?):
2. „Ich bin vollbezahlt mit deiner Abgabe des Bades
3. für Jahr 30 des Cäsar, am 26. Epiphe.“



IV. DO BM 12579.

### Bemerkungen

Z. 2. *ln.t <n> t<sub>2</sub> s.t-ijwn*, „Abgabe des Bades“. Über diese Abgabe, welche für die Benutzung der ägyptischen Tempelbäder in natura (Weizen) oder in Bargeld erlegt wurde, siehe Mattha, a. A., S. 58. Die Höhe der Abgabe ist in dem vorliegenden Dokument nicht angegeben, eine Tatsache, die die Annahme Mattha's stützt, „that the charge for using the temple bath was fixed at 1/12 artabe of wheat or its equivalent in money according to the price of wheat at the time and place where the receipt was written“.

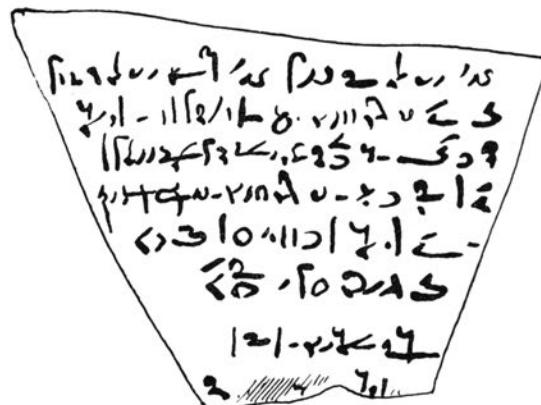
Z. 3. Jahr 30 des Cäsar (Augustus) = Jahr 1/2 n. Chr.

### Quittung über Krappsteuer

V. DO BM 31449. Grösse: 9,6 × 6,7 cm. Theben. Wahrscheinlich Jahr  
29/28 v. Chr.

#### Transkription

1. *Hr s<sub>2</sub> P<sub>2</sub>-šr-Mn<sub>2</sub> Hr-s<sub>2</sub>-I<sub>2</sub> s<sub>2</sub> P<sub>2</sub>-šr-Hns<sub>2</sub>*
2. *ir f<sub>2</sub>j p<sub>2</sub> tnj n ss <n> Dm<sub>2</sub> n h<sub>2</sub>.t-sp 2.t*
3. *n<sub>2</sub> ntj dd n Pa-tm s<sub>2</sub> Ns-n<sub>2</sub>-nht.t.w*
4. *tw=n mh n p<sub>2</sub> tnj n p<sub>2</sub>j=k ns<sub>2</sub>*
5. *n f<sub>2</sub>j h<sub>2</sub>.t-sp 2.t tpj 3h sw 1 šc*
6. *ibt-2 pr sw 'rkj r ibt 6*
7. *st šp n ip*
8. *[sh n] h<sub>2</sub>.t-sp 2.t ... sw 2 (?)*



V. DO BM 31449.

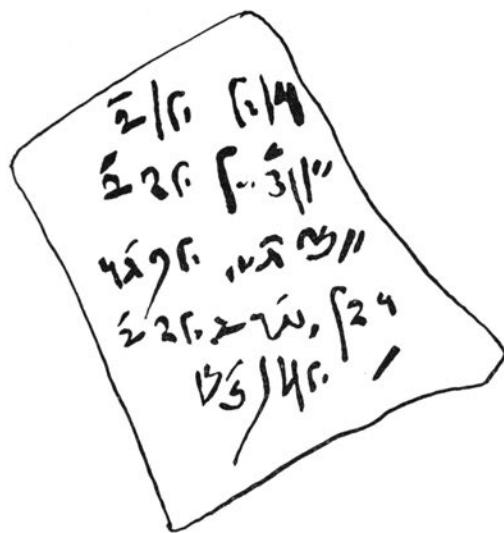
### Übersetzung

1. Hor, Sohn des Pshenmonth, (und) Harsiese, Sohn des Pshenchons,
2. welche die Leinensteuer (in) Djeme genommen haben im Jahr 2,
3. sind es, die sagen zu Patem, dem Sohn des Esnanechtiu:
4. „Wir sind vollbezahlt mit der Abgabe deines Krappes
5. vom Jahr 2, dem 1. Thoth bis an
6. den 30. Mehir; macht 6 Monate.
7. Sie ist gutgeschrieben.“
8. [Geschrieben im] Jahr 2. am 2. (?) ...“

### Bemerkungen

Z. 1. Hor (S. des Pshenmonth) und Harsiese (S. des Pshenchons) erscheinen bei Mattha, a. A., Nr. 111/1, in einer Urkunde derselben Art, die ebenso vom Jahr 2 datiert. Die Urkunde ist aber stark beschädigt, und von dem Namen des Vaters des erstgenannten Erhebers sind nur die zwei letzten Zeichen erhalten. Über die Identität scheint jedoch kein Zweifel zu bestehen.

Z. 2. Zu dem Ausdruck *ir* (oder *i.ir*) *tȝj pȝ tnj*, „der die Abgabe nimmt“ als Bezeichnung des Steuererhebers vgl. Miriam Lichtheim, Medinet Habu Ostraca, Nr. 118/2. Vgl auch Erichsen, a. A., S. 665. — Das auf *tnj* „Abgabe“ folgende Zeichen ist m. E. *ȝs* „Leinen“ zu lesen. Dasselbe Zeichen (ungelesen) erscheint auch bei Mattha, a. A., Nr. 111/2.



VI. DO BM 43649.

Z. 3. *tw=n mh n p<sup>3</sup> tnj n p<sup>3</sup>j=k nst „wir sind vollbezahlt mit der Abgabe deines Krappes“*. Die Ergänzung Mattha's in Nr. 111/3-4: *te-y mh n p (?) tny (?) n p-k nst* ist korrekt. Dagegen scheint kein Grund vorhanden zu sein, vor *p (?) tny (?)* das Wort *n ht.w*, the silver (plur.) einzuschieben. — *nst „Krapp“*. Über diese Pflanze (*Rubia tinctorum*), siehe Lucas-Harris, Ancient Egyptian Materials, London 1962, S. 150.

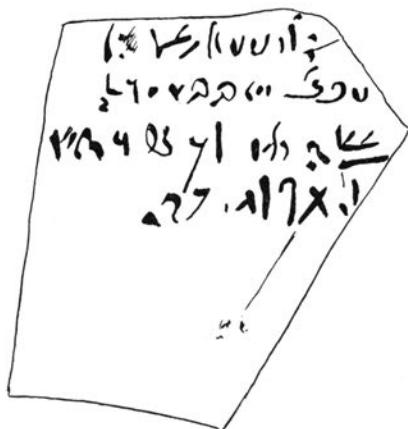
Z. 8. Jahr 2 ist wahrscheinlich Augustus 2 = Jahr 29/28 v. Chr.

### Abrechnung über Weizen

VI. DO BM 43649. Grösse: 7,5 × 8,5 cm. Oberägypten. Ptolemäische Zeit.

#### Transkription

- |   |                    |
|---|--------------------|
| 1. <i>Pa-Hp</i>                         | <i>sw 1 1/8</i>    |
| 2. <i>P<sup>3</sup>-tj-Itm</i>          | <i>sw 1/2 1/8</i>  |
| 3. <i>P<sup>3</sup>-wnš</i>             | <i>sw 1/4 1/12</i> |
| 4. <i>Pa-Imn s<sup>3</sup> Hr-pa-Is</i> | <i>sw 1/2 1/8</i>  |
| 5. <i>r sw 2 2/3 1/24</i>               |                    |



VII. DO BM 12604.

*Übersetzung*

- |                                    |                         |
|------------------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1. Pahap                           | 1 1/8 (Artaben) Weizen. |
| 2. Petetum                         | 5/8 (Artabe) Weizen.    |
| 3. Peunsh                          | 1/3 (Artabe) Weizen.    |
| 4. Paamun, Sohn des Harpaese       | 5/8 (Artabe) Weizen.    |
| 5. Macht 2 17/24 (Artaben) Weizen. |                         |

**Quittung über Weizen**

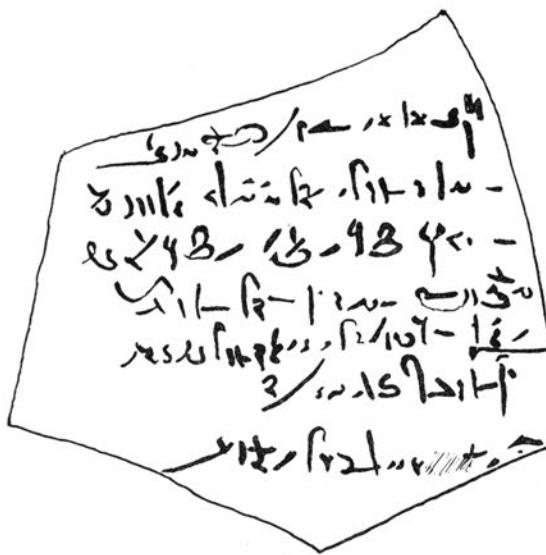
VII. DO BM 12604. Grösse: 7,3 × 7,5 cm. Theben (Karnak). Ptolemäische Zeit.

*Transkription*

1. *Thwutj-iw s<sup>2</sup> Ns-<sup>r</sup>Mn<sup>3</sup>*
2. *p<sup>2</sup> ntj dd <n> Snn p<sup>2</sup> shn*
3. *tj=k n=j sw 1 1/4 hr sm*
4. *<n> h<sup>2</sup>.t-sp 35 tpj pr sw 25*

*Übersetzung*

1. Thetheu, Sohn des Esmin,
2. ist es, der sagt (zu) Senon, dem Pächter:
3. „Du hast mir gegeben 1 1/4 (Artaben) Weizen als Entgelt für Kraut
4. (im) Jahr 35, am 25. Tybe.“



VIII. DO BM 20145.

**Bemerkungen**

Z. 2. *shn* „Pächter“. Für diese Bedeutung des Wortes vgl. Gradenwitz–Preisigke–Spiegelberg, Ein Erbstreit aus dem ptolemäischen Ägypten. S. 54<sup>1</sup>.

Z. 4. Jahr 35 ist entweder Ptolemaios VI. Philometer 35 (=147/46 v. Chr.) oder Ptolemaios VIII. Euergetes II. 35 (=136/35 v. Chr.).

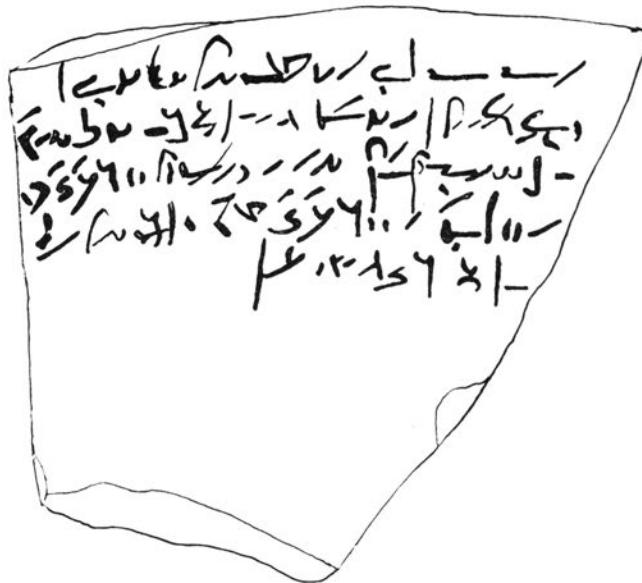
**Quittung über Weizen**

VIII. DO BM 20145. Grösse: 9,7 × 9 cm. Theben. Wahrscheinlich Jahr 6/5 v. Chr.

*Transkription*

1. *Pa-irj s<sub>3</sub> Turn p<sub>3</sub> ntj dd*
2. *n P<sub>3</sub>-tj-Hns w s<sub>3</sub> Thwtj-iw tw=j mh*
3. *n sw rtb 72 r 36 r 72 'n hr*
4. *p<sub>3</sub> šm n p<sub>3</sub> 3h n Imn n h<sub>3</sub>.t-sp 14*
5. *r tw=k n Htr s<sub>3</sub> P<sub>3</sub>-šr-Hns w p<sub>3</sub> mr šn*
6. *sh n h<sub>3</sub>.t-sp 15 ibt-2 pr sw 12*
7. *[sh] ... <s<sub>3</sub>> P<sub>3</sub>-tj-Wsir r hrw=f*

<sup>1</sup> Schriften der Wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaft in Strassburg, 13. Heft, Strassburg 1912.



IX. DO BM 31874.

### *Übersetzung*

1. Paere, Sohn des Tyron, ist es, der sagt
2. zu Petechons, dem Sohn des Thetheu: „Ich bin vollbezahlt
3. mit 72 Artaben Weizen, ihre Hälfte macht 36 = 72 wiederum, als
4. die Ernteabgabe des Ackers des Amun für Jahr 14,
5. welche du gegeben hast dem Hatre, dem Sohn des Pshenchons, dem Aufseher.“
6. Geschrieben im Jahr 15, am 12. Mechir.
7. [Es hat geschrieben] ..., (Sohn) des Peteusire, auf sein Geheiss.

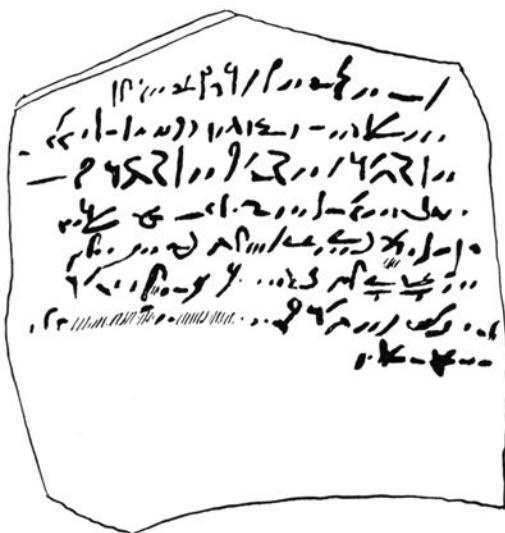
### **Bemerkungen**

Z. 1. *Twrn*, Tyron, griech. τύρων, erscheint noch in zwei Dokumenten: DO BM 25796/1 und DO BM 43570/1, beide unveröffentlicht.

Z. 4. *pȝ ȝh n Imn* „der Acker des Amun“, als Bezeichnung eines dem grossen Amuntempel in Karnak gehörigen Ackers.

Z. 5. *mr ȝn* „Aufseher“, in griech. Urkunden προστάτης oder ἀρχι-ερεῦς bezeichnet. Die Amtsgeschäfte dieses Beamten waren vorzugsweise von administrativer Art (vgl. Bonnet, Reallexikon, S. 423 f.).

Z. 6. Jahr 15 ist wahrscheinlich Augustus 15 (= 6/5 v. Chr.).



X. DO BM 43591.

### Quittung über Weizen

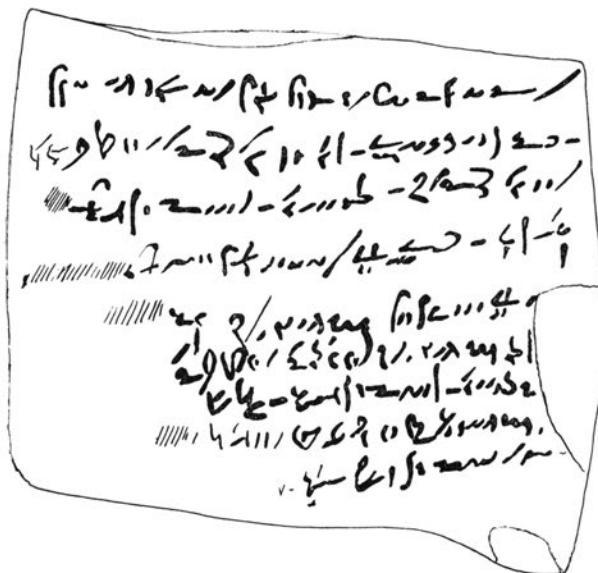
IX. DO BM 31874. Grösse: 11,5 × 10,2 cm. Theben. Jahr 3/4 n. Chr.

#### Transkription

1. *r.in Gl-šr s<sup>2</sup> P<sup>2</sup>-4-Mn<sup>2</sup>t P<sup>2</sup>-šr-p<sup>2</sup>-wr*
2. *⟨s<sup>2</sup>⟩ N<sup>2</sup>-k<sup>2</sup>.w r p<sup>2</sup> r<sup>2</sup> n h<sup>2</sup>.t-sp 32 n p<sup>2</sup> h<sup>2</sup>j*
3. *n ipj.t n t.t Hr s<sup>2</sup> Hrj sw 2 1/4 1/24*
4. *r sw 1 1/8 r sw 2 1/4 1/24 ‘n sh Pa-Mn<sup>2</sup>t s<sup>2</sup> sp-2*
5. *n h<sup>2</sup>.t-sp 32 ibt-2 šm sw 21*

#### Übersetzung

1. Es hat bezahlt Kalasiris, Sohn des Peftumonth, (und) Pshenpuer,
2. (Sohn) des *N<sup>2</sup>-k<sup>2</sup>.w*, an den Thesaurus für Jahr 32, durch das Messen
3. mit o<sup>2</sup>φι (-Mass) durch Hor, den Sohn des Herieu: 2 7/24 (Artaben)
- Weizen,
4. ihre Hälfte macht 1 1/8 (Artaben) Weizen = 2 7/24 (Artaben) Wei-zen wiederum. Es hat geschrieben Pamonth, Sohn des Pamonth,
5. im Jahr 32, am 21. Payne.



XI. DO BM 23399.

### Bemerkungen

Z. 2. Der Name  $N_3\cdot k_3.w$  (wörtl. „die Stiere“) war mir bisher unbekannt.

Z. 4. Bei der Hälftenangabe ist der 1/48-Teil der Artabe, als Nichtigkeit betrachtet, ausgelassen.

Z. 5. Jahr 32 = Augustus 32 (= 3/4 n. Chr.).

### Quittung über Weizen

X. DO BM 43591. Grösse:  $9 \times 9,1$  cm. Theben. Jahr 19/20 n. Chr.

#### Transkription

1.  $r.in P_3\cdot\check{sr}\cdot Mn\check{k} s_3 Pa\cdot n_3\cdot nh.t.\check{t}.w$
2.  $r p_3 r_3 n n_3 \cdot wj.w m\check{h}\check{k}.w n h_3.t.sp 6.t$
3.  $sw 1 1/2 1/12 r sw 1/2 \dots r sw 1 1/2 1/12 \cdot n n$
4.  $p_3 h_3 j n ipj.t n w\check{s} \langle n \rangle \check{sp}$
5.  $sh n h_3.t.sp 6 n Tjbrs Gsr^e$
6.  $Sbsts ibt-2 pr sw 20 whm n sw \cdot rkj sw 1/12$
7.  $r sw 1/24 r sw 1/12 \cdot n \dots$
8.  $n w\check{s} n \check{sp}$

*Übersetzung*

1. Es hat bezahlt Pshenmonth, Sohn des Panechate,
2. an den Speicher des nördlichen Viertels für Jahr 6:
3. 1 7/12 (Artaben) Weizen, ihre Hälfte macht 1/2 ... (Artabe) Weizen (=) 1 7/12 (Artaben) Weizen wiederum durch
4. das Messen mit dem  $\sigma\tilde{\epsilon}\varphi\iota$  (-Mass), ohne Extrazuschlag.
5. Geschrieben im Jahr 6 des Tiberius Cäsar
6. Sebastos, am 20. Mechir; ebenfalls am 30.: 1/12 (Artabe) Weizen,
7. ihre Hälfte macht 1/24 (Artabe) Weizen = 1/12 (Artabe) Weizen wiederum. ...
8. ohne Extrazuschlag.

**Bemerkungen**

Z. 2. Zu  $n^3 \cdot wj.w m\dot{h}t.w$  „das nördliche Viertel“ vgl. Mattha, a. A., Nr. 1/2, Anm.

Z. 3. Die Hälfte soll 1/2 1/4 1/24 (  $\tau\dot{\gamma}\chi\tau$  ) sein.

Z. 4. Zu dem Ausdruck  $n w\dot{s} \langle n \rangle \dot{s}p$  „ohne Extrazuschlag“ vgl. Mattha, a. A., Nr. 181/5, Anm.

Z. 5. Jahr 6 des Tiberius = Jahr 19/20 n. Chr.

**Quittung über Weizen**

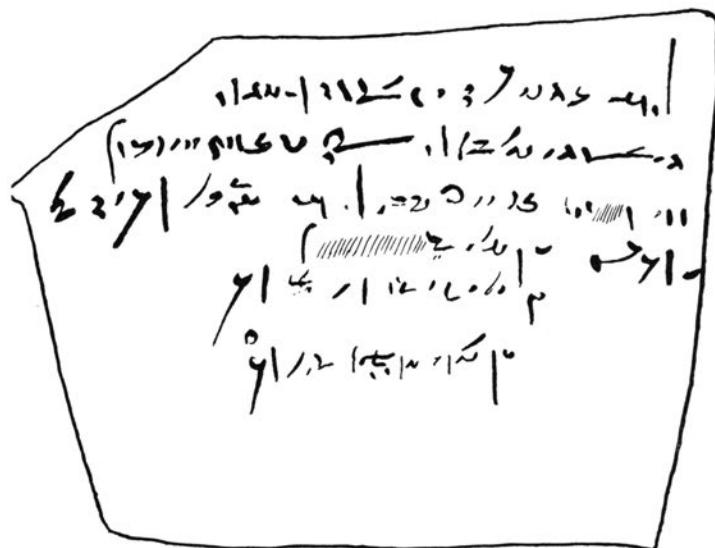
XI. DO BM 23399. Grösse: 10,7 × 10 cm. Theben. Jahr 19/20 n. Chr.

*Transkription*

1.  $r.in P\dot{z}.-sr.Mn\dot{t} s\dot{z} Hnsw\text{-}Thwtj r p\dot{z} r\dot{z} \langle n \rangle p\dot{z} ntr$
2.  $n n^3 \cdot wj.(w) m\dot{h}t.(w) n h\dot{z}t\text{-}sp 6 sw 6 5/6 1/8 r sw 3 1/3 1/12$
3.  $r sw 6 5/6 1/8 \cdot n n h\dot{z}j n ipj.t n w\dot{s} n [\dot{s}p]$
4.  $sh n h\dot{z}t\text{-}sp 6 n Tjb^erjs [Gjsrs]$
5.  $[S]b^estw^e ibt-3 \dot{s}m sw 19 sh \dots$
6.  $[n] h\dot{z}t\text{-}sp 6 ibt-3 \dot{s}m sw 19 sw 6 5/6 1/8 r sw 3 1/3 1/8$
7.  $[n] p\dot{z} h\dot{z}j n ipj.t n w\dot{s} n \dot{s}p$
8.  $[^n] n ibt-3 \dot{s}m sw 23 sw 1/6 1/24 r sw 1/12 r [sw 1/6 1/24 ^n]$
9.  $[n p\dot{z}] h\dot{z}j \langle n \rangle ipj.t \langle n \rangle w\dot{s} n \dot{s}p$

*Übersetzung*

1. Es hat bezahlt Pshenmonth, Sohn des Chensthoth, an den Speicher des Gottes
2. in dem nördlichen Viertel für Jahr 6: 6 5/6 1/8 (Artaben) Weizen, ihre Hälfte macht 3 1/3 1/12 (Artaben) Weizen



XII. DO BM 29738.

3. = 6 5/6 1/8 (Artaben) Weizen wiederum durch (das) Messen mit  $\sigma\tilde{\varphi}\iota$  (-Mass), ohne Extrazuschlag.
4. Geschrieben im Jahr 6 des Tiberius [Cäsar]
5. [S]ebastos am 19. Epiphe. Es hat geschrieben ...
6. (im) Jahr 6, am 19. Epiphe: 6 5/6 1/8 (Artaben) Weizen, ihre Hälfte macht 3 1/3 1/8 (Artaben) Weizen
7. [durch] das Messen mit  $\sigma\tilde{\varphi}\iota$  (-Mass), ohne Extrazuschlag;
8. [ebenfalls] am 23. Epiphe: 1/6 1/24 (Artabe) Weizen, ihre Hälfte macht 1/12 (Artabe) Weizen = (1/6 1/24 (Artabe) Weizen wiederum)
9. (durch das) Messen (mit)  $\sigma\tilde{\varphi}\iota$  (-Mass), ohne Extrazuschlag.

### Bemerkungen

Z. 1.  $p_3^{\circ} r_3^{\circ} \langle n \rangle p_3^{\circ} ntr$ , „der Speicher des Gottes“, als Bezeichnung des Tempelspeichers.

Z. 2. Zu  $n_3^{\circ} .wj(w) mht(w)$ , „das nördliche Viertel“, vgl. Nr. X/2, Bem. —  $sw 3 1/3 1/12$ , „3 1/3 1/12 (Artaben) Weizen“. Bei der Angabe der Hälfte ist von dem Achtel abgesehen worden. In Z. 6 ist das Zwölftel nicht aufgeführt, was dagegen mit dem Achtel der Fall ist, ohne dass es auf die Hälfte vermindert wurde.

Z. 3. Zu *n wš n [šp]* „ohne Extrazuschlag“ vgl. Nr. X/4, Bem.

Z. 4. Jahr 6 des Tiberius=Jahr 19/20 n. Chr.

Z. 8. Bei der Hälftenangabe ist nur auf das Sechstel Rücksicht genommen worden.

### Quittung über Rizinus

XII. DO BM 29738. Grösse: 12,7 × 9,7 cm. Gebelén. Wahrscheinlich Jahr 111/10 v. Chr.

#### Transkription

1. *ḥʒ.t-sp 7 ibt-2 pr sw 22 n nʒ rʒ.w n pʒ tš*
2. *⟨n⟩ Pr-Hthr in Pʒ-mr-ih sʒ Pʒ-tj-Hnsw*
3. *[irm nʒj=f irj.w] hr pʒ šm n ḥʒ.t-sp 7 tgm 1 1/4 r 1/2 1/8*
4. *r 1 1/4 ‘n sh ḥr-sʒ-Is sʒ Nʒ-nfr-R‘ (?)*
5. *sh ḥr sʒ Kr(?) r‘tgm‘ 1 1/4*
6. *sh Dd-ḥr sʒ Pʒ-tj-Mn ⟨r⟩ tgm 1 1/4*

#### Übersetzung

1. Jahr 7, am 22. Mechir, in dem Speicher des Gaues
2. von Pathyris. Es hat bezahlt Pleehe, Sohn des Petechons,
3. [und seine Genossen] für die Ernteabgabe des Jahres 7: Rizinus (-Samen) 1 1/4 (Artaben), ihre Hälfte macht 5/8
4. = 1 1/4 wiederum. Es hat geschrieben Harsiese, Sohn des Neferre (?)
5. Es hat geschrieben Hor, Sohn des Kr (?). Summe 1 1/4 (Artaben) Rizinus(-Samen).
6. Es hat geschrieben Djeho, Sohn des Petemin. (Summe) 1 1/4 (Artaben) Rizinus(-Samen).

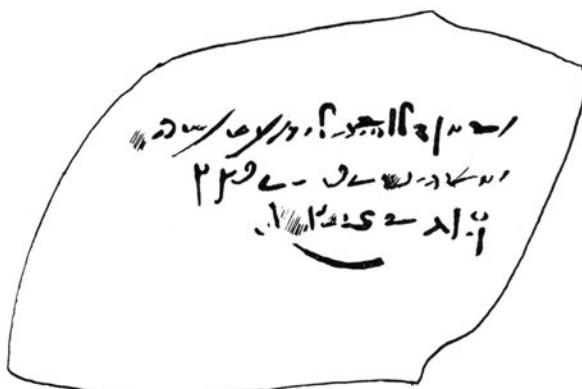
#### Bemerkungen

Z. 1–2. Jahr 7 dürfte das 7. Regierungsjahr des Ptolemaios IX. (=111/10 v. Chr.) sein. — Zu dem Ausdruck *nʒ rʒ.w n pʒ tš ⟨n⟩ Pr-Hthr* „der Speicher (wörtl. „die Tür“) des Gaues von Pathyris“ vgl. Wångstedt, Die demotischen Ostraka der Universität zu Zürich, Uppsala 1965, Nr. 15/1–2, Anm.

Z. 4. Zu dem Schreiber Harsiese [S. des *Nʒ-nfr-R‘ (?)*] vgl. Wångstedt, a. A., Nr. 15/5, Anm.

Z. 5. Zu dem Schreiber Hor [S. des *Kr(?)*] vgl. Wångstedt, a. A., Nr. 15/6, Anm.

Z. 6. Zu dem Schreiber Djeho (S. des *Pʒ-tj-Mn*) vgl. Wångstedt, a. A., Nr. 18/5, Anm.



XIII. DO BM 31500.

### Quittung über Strohlieferung

XIII. DO BM 31500. Grösse:  $10,5 \times 6,5$  cm. Oberägypten. Wahrscheinlich Jahr 13/12 v. Chr.

#### *Transkription*

1. *r.in P<sub>3</sub>-tj-Imn-ipj s<sub>3</sub> Hlgrgn*
2. *r p<sub>3</sub> r<sub>3</sub> ȝth n th 9*
3. *sh n h<sub>3</sub>-t-sp 18 ibt-2 šm sw 19*

#### *Übersetzung*

1. Es hat geliefert Peteamenope, Sohn des Herakleon,
2. an den Thesaurus 9 Lasten Stroh.
3. Geschrieben im Jahr 18, am 19. Payne.

#### Bemerkungen

Z. 2. *r<sub>3</sub>* „Tür“, als Bezeichnung des Staatlichen Speichers. — *th*, „Stroh“. Für andere Dokumente dieser Art siehe Wängstedt, a. A., S. 32.

Z. 3. Jahr 18 dürfte Augustus 18 (=13/12 v. Chr.) sein.

### Quittung über Wein (?)

XIV. DO W 88<sup>1</sup>. Grösse:  $9,7 \times 9,5$  cm. Kalkstein. Oberägypten. Ptolemäische Zeit.

<sup>1</sup> 1964 in Kairo erworben.



XIV. DO W 88.

*Transkription*

1. *ḥȝ.t-sp 11 tpj šm sw 19 ... hn 1 2/3 ibt-2 šm sw 18 hn 1*
2. *ibt-3 šm sw 1 hn 5/6 sw 10 hn 1 1/2 r hn 5 r 2 1/2 r 5 ḥn*
3. *iw ir nȝ isw.w r ir=w n=f ḥȝ.t hn=w sh Hr-pȝ-bk*
4. *sȝ Nḥt.t-Imn(?) n ḥȝ.t-sp 11 ibt-4 šm sw 10*

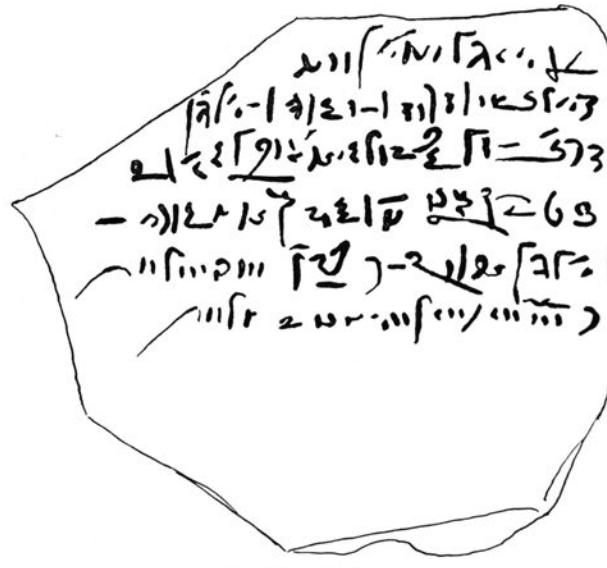
*Übersetzung*

1. Jahr 11, am 19. Pachons: ... 1 2/3 Hin; am 18. Payne: 1 Hin;
2. am 1. Epiphe: 5/6 Hin; am 10.: 1 1/2 Hin; macht 5 Hin, ihre Hälfte macht  $2\frac{1}{2}=5$  wiederum,
3. indem die Quittungen, die man ihm früher gemacht hat, mit eingerechnet sind. Es hat geschrieben Harpbek,
4. Sohn des Nechtamun(?), im Jahr 11, am 10. Mesore.

**Bemerkungen**

Z. 1. *hn „Hin“*. Das ägyptische Grundhohlmaß = 0,455 L. In Z. 2 erscheint das Wort in abgekürzter Schreibung (*hn 5/6 „5/6 Hin“*).

Z. 3. Zu dem Ausdruck *iw ir nȝ isw.w ... hn=w „indem die Quittungen ... mit eingerechnet sind“* vgl. Erichsen, Demot. Glossar, S. 44. Die betreffenden Quittungen, welche „früher“ ausgefertigt worden sind, gelten Lieferungen, die am 19. Pachons, am 18. Payne und am 1. Epiphe stattgefunden haben. Der Name des Lieferanten ist nicht angegeben;



XV. DO BM 21406.

wahrscheinlich erscheint er auf den ersten drei Quittungen, welche allem Anschein nach Teillieferungen sind.

Z. 4. Jahr 11 kann entweder Ptolemaios VI. Philometer 11 (=171/70 v. Chr.) oder Auletes 11 (=71/70 v. Chr.) sein.

### Quittung über Wein

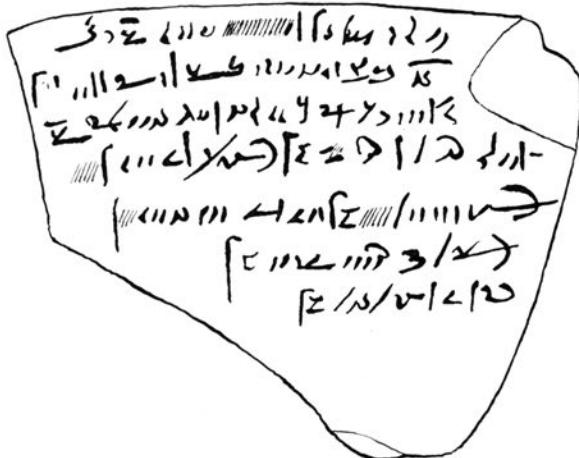
XV. DO BM 21406. Grösse:  $10,7 \times 9,7$  cm. Theben. Jahr 144 n. Chr.

#### Transkription

1. *Ns-pj = w-tj.wj s Hr-m-hb irm*
2. *nj=f irj(w) n w'b.w n nj .wj.w n R'-tj.wj*
3. *nj ntj dd n Imn-htp sj Hr-(pj)-bk tw=n*
4. *m h n t.t=k n pj irp w' hr p .wj n*
5. *R'-tj.wj hr h sj.t-sp 9 n ntjwjns*
6. *Gjsrs pj=n hrj*

#### Übersetzung

1. Espoteu, Sohn des Horemheb, und
2. seine Genossen, die Priester des Tempels der Ratou,
3. sind es, die sagen zu Amenhotep, dem Sohn des Har(p)bek: „Wir sind



XVI. DO BM 12581.

4. vollbezahlt durch deine Hand mit einem (Keramion) Wein für den Tempel der
5. Ratou für das Jahr 9 des Antoninus
6. Cäsar, unseres Herrn.“

#### Bemerkungen

Z. 1. Espoteu (S. des *Hr-m-hb*) dürfte mit dem Gottesvater desselben Namens in DO BM 21426 — eine vom Jahr 10 des Antoninus datierende Urkunde derselben Art [Orientalia Suecana 12, (1963), S. 56] — identisch sein.

Z. 2. Zu *pʒ .wj n Rʒ-tʒ.wj* „der Tempel der Ratou“ vgl. Orientalia Suecana 12, S. 55, Anm. 3.

Z. 3. Zu Amenhotep [S. des *Hr-(pʒ)bk*] vgl. Orientalia Suecana 12, S. 55, Anm. 2.

Z. 4. Jahr 9 des Antoninus = Jahr 144 n. Chr.

#### Quitting über Tempelkollekte

XVI. DO BM 12581. Grösse: 10,2 × 8,2 cm. Hermonthis. Jahr 54/55 n. Chr.

#### Transkription

1. *Pʒ-ʒr-nʒ-ntr.w sʒ [Pʒ-tj-Is] pʒ hm-ntr n Is [pʒ] ntj dd*
2. *n Hr-wdʒ irm nʒ=j=f irj(.w) nʒ in-wʒwʒ=j(.w)*

3. *tw=j mḥt <n> str 1 <n> pȝ štj n Is*
4. *n hȝ t-sp 1.t <n> Nrwnȝ Gluts*
5. *Gjsr[s] Sbsts*
6. *Grmnjks*
7. *ȝwtwgrȝ*

### *Übersetzung*

1. Pshenenter, Sohn des [Peteese], der Priester der Isis, ist es, der sagt
2. zu Haruodj, und seinen Genossen, den Isionomen:
3. „Ich bin vollbezahlt mit einem Stater für die Kollekte der Isis
4. für Jahr 1 des Nero Claudius
5. Cäsar Augustus
6. Germanicus
7. Autokrator.“

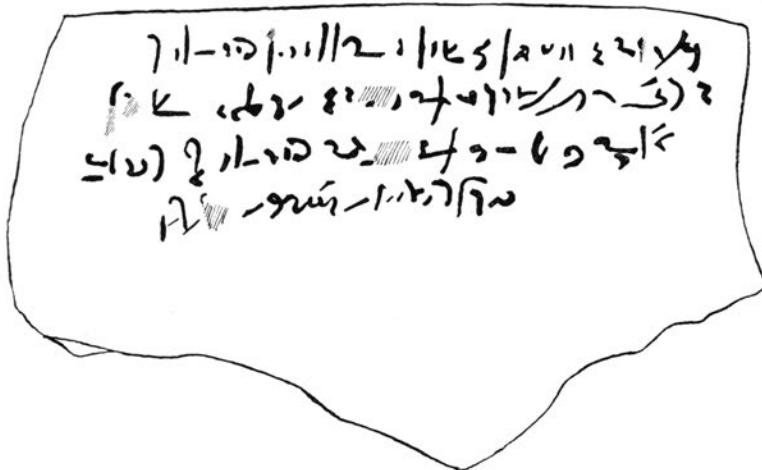
### **Bemerkungen**

Z. 1. Der Isispriester Pshenenter (S. des *Pȝ-tj-Is*) ist aus den folgenden *λογεία*-Quittungen bekannt: Ostr. Berlin P. 1662 und 6187 (ZÄS 54, S. 117 f.), Mattha, a. A., Nr. 186 und 187, Wängstedt, Ausgewählte demot. Ostraka, Nr. 37–40. Die Amtszeit des Pshenenter fiel in die Regierungszeit des Claudius und die des Nero.

Z. 2. *in-wȝwȝj* „Ratbringer“, griech. *ἰστιονόμος*, als Bezeichnung des Inhabers und Verwalters eines der Göttin Isis geweihten Privatheiligtums. Vgl. Otto, Priester und Tempel, 2, S. 175, Anm. 2. In den bisher veröffentlichten demotischen Dokumenten sind nur die Namen der Kollektenzahler angegeben. In dem nachfolgenden Dokument, DO BM 25894, das auch eine *λογεία*-Quittung sein dürfte, sind die Zahlungsempfänger Isionomen.

Z. 3. Zu *mḥt* „ergreifen“, in Quittungen dieser Art die übliche Form statt *mḥ* „vollzahlen“, vgl. Wängstedt, a. A., S. 123, Anm. 2. — *štj* „Kollekte“, griech. *λογεία*. Über diese Abgabe vgl. Wängstedt, a. A., S. 123, Anm. 2. In Quittungen aus Hermonthis kommt die Abgabe entweder als *štj n Is* „Kollekte der Isis“ oder als *štj n pȝ ntr* „Kollekte des Gottes“ (wahrscheinlich Month) vor.

Z. 4. Jahr 1 des Nero = Jahr 54/55 n. Chr.



XVII. DO BM 25894.

### Quittung über Tempelkollekte

XVII. DO BM 25894. Grösse:  $13,6 \times 8,4$  cm. Oberägypten. Jahr 142 n. Chr.

#### *Transkription*

1. *Sl<sup>r</sup>w<sup>3</sup>(?) i rm n<sup>3</sup>j=f irj(.w) n<sup>3</sup> in-w<sup>3</sup>w<sup>3</sup>j(.w) <n> Nj.t*
2. *n<sup>3</sup> ntj dd n Hrj-p<sup>3</sup>-<sup>r</sup>m<sup>3</sup>j<sup>1</sup> s<sup>3</sup> T<sup>3</sup>-šr.t-Wsir*
3. *tw=n mh n t<sup>3</sup>j=k(?) ... <n> Nj.t n h<sup>3</sup>.t-sp 5.t <n> 3ntn-*
4. *-<sup>3</sup>wns ibt-4 <sup>r</sup>pr<sup>1</sup> sw <sup>r</sup>27<sup>1</sup>*

#### *Übersetzung*

1. Seleue(?) und seine Genossen, die Isionomen der Neit,
2. sind es, die sagen zu *Hrj-p<sup>3</sup>-<sup>r</sup>m<sup>3</sup>j<sup>1</sup>*, dem Sohn der Tshenusire:
3. „Wir sind vollbezahlt mit deiner(?) ... der Neit für Jahr 5 des Anton-
4. inus, am 27. Pharmuthe.“

#### Bemerkungen

Z. 1. Zu dem Namen *Slw<sup>3</sup>*, Seleue, vgl. Griffith, Catalogue of the Demotic Graffiti of the Dodecaschoenus 1, Oxford 1937, Ind. 745. — Zu *in-w<sup>3</sup>w<sup>3</sup>j* „Ratbringer“, „Isionom“ vgl. Nr. XVI/2, Bem. — *Nj.t*, Neit. Der Name zeigt, dass es sich um ein dieser Göttin geweihtes, von

Seleue und seinen Genossen verwaltetes Privatheiligtum handelt. Dass die Göttin Neit in Oberägypten und zwar im Gau von Pathyris, in spätptolemaischer Zeit verehrt wurde, geht aus DP Berlin 13608 hervor, in welchem ein Heiligtum (*šjm<sup>3</sup>.t*) der Neit erwähnt ist (ZÄS 65, 1930, S. 53 ff.).

Z. 2. *Hrj-p<sup>3</sup>-r'm<sup>3</sup>j<sup>1</sup>* (wörtl. „der Löwe ist zufrieden“). Zu diesem Namen vgl. Mattha, a. A., Nr. 55/1. Man bemerke, dass *Hrj-p<sup>3</sup>-r'm<sup>3</sup>j<sup>1</sup>* den Namen seiner Mutter statt den seines Vaters nennt.

Z. 4. Die Ergänzung des beschädigten Wortes, wahrscheinlich der Name der Abgabe, ist mir nicht gegückt.

Z. 5. Jahr 5 des Antoninus = Jahr 142 n. Chr.

### Bescheinigungen über Begräbnissteuer und Steuereinzahlung

XVIII. DH W 49. Grösse: 9,6 × 4,7 cm. Theben. Wahrscheinlich Jahr 253/52 v. Chr.

#### *Transkription*

Recto.

1. *in Dd-hr s<sup>3</sup>*
2. *r'Pa-Dm<sup>3</sup> kt 1/2 <n> ht mr<sup>1</sup>*
3. *b<sup>3</sup>s.t <n> rn T<sup>3</sup>-h[b](?)*
4. *t<sup>3</sup> Iw=f<sup>1</sup> nh r.in=w r*
5. *t<sup>3</sup> b<sup>3</sup>s.t n h<sup>3</sup>.t-sp 33 tpj 3h sw 18* (supra lin.)
6. *r.bn-iw=w<sup>1</sup> [<r> rh] sh r.r=k n-im=s*
7. *sh itf-ntr P<sup>3</sup>-tj-Imn-nsw-t<sup>3</sup>.wj s<sup>3</sup> itf-ntr*
8. *tpj(?) Nht.t<sup>1</sup>-Mn<sup>3</sup>(?)*
9. *<n> h<sup>3</sup>.t-sp 33 tpj 3h sw 22 st šp*

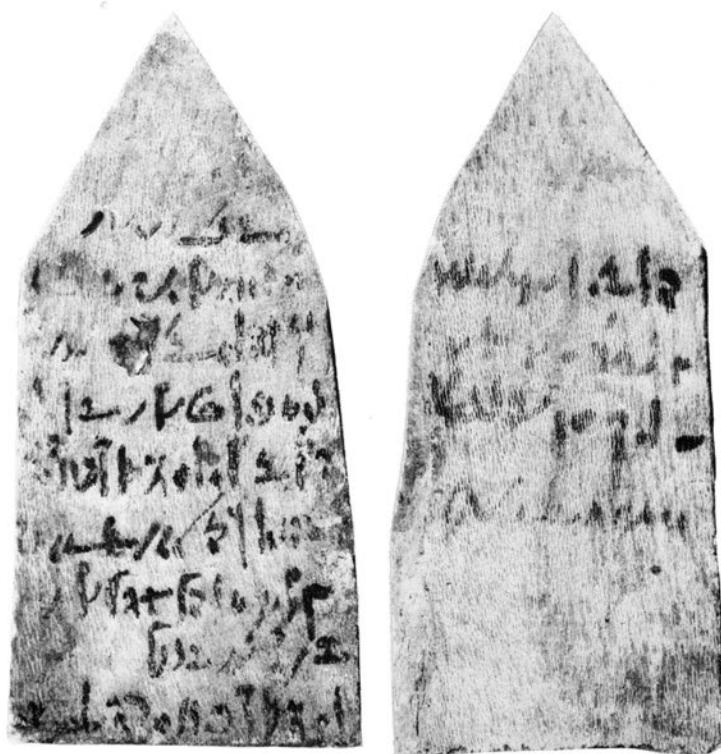
Verso.

1. *Imn-htp s<sup>3</sup> Pa-rt*
2. *ht 1/3 1/12 n ht ...*
3. *n h<sup>3</sup>.t-sp 9 sh Thwtj-ir-rh=s*
4. *ibt-4 pr sw 17*

#### *Übersetzung*

Recto.

1. Es hat bezahlt Djeho, Sohn des
2. Padjeme, 1/2 Kite(Silber) (als) Steuer des Vorstehers
3. der Nekropole, im Namen der Taheb(?)
4. der Tochter des Efonech, die man gebracht hat in



XVIII. DH W 49.

5. die Nekropole im Jahr 33, am 18. (supra lin.) Thoth.
6. Nicht wird man Anspruch erheben können gegen dich in Bezug auf sie.
7. Es hat geschrieben der Gottesvater Petemestou, Sohn des ersten(?) Gottesvaters
8. Nechtmonth(?),
9. (im) Jahr 33, am 22. Thoth. Es ist gutgeschrieben.

Verso.

1. Amenhotep, Sohn des Paret,
2. 1/3 1/12 Silberling als Steuer ...
3. für Jahr 9. Es hat geschrieben Thetarreches
4. am 17. Pharmuthe.

### Bemerkungen

Z. 2-3. *ḥt mr ḥɔs.t* „Steuer (wörtl. „Silber“) des Vorstehers der Nekropole“. Über diese Abgabe siehe Malinine, Taxes funéraires égyptiennes à l'époque gréco-romaine (Inst. fr. d'Archéol. orientale. Bibliothèque d'études, T. 32, 1961, S. 142 ff.). — Den erhaltenen Zeichenspuren nach zu schliessen, könnte der Name *Tɔ-hb*, Taheb, gelesen werden.

Z. 6. *bn iw=w [⟨r⟩ rh] sh r.r=k n-im=s* „nicht wird man Anspruch erheben(?) können gegen dich im Bezug auf sie“. Zur Ergänzung vgl. Erichsen, Demot. Lesestücke 2, Gloss., S. 137.

Z. 9. Jahr 33 ist wahrscheinlich Ptolemaios II. Philadelphos 33 (=253/52 v. Chr.). — Des Raumes wegen ist die Quittungsformel *st šp ⟨n⟩ ip* „es ist gutgeschrieben“ abgekürzt worden.

### Verkauf von „Lebenssträussen“<sup>1</sup>

XIX. DO BM 26200. Grösse: 12 × 11,7 cm. Theben. Römische Zeit.

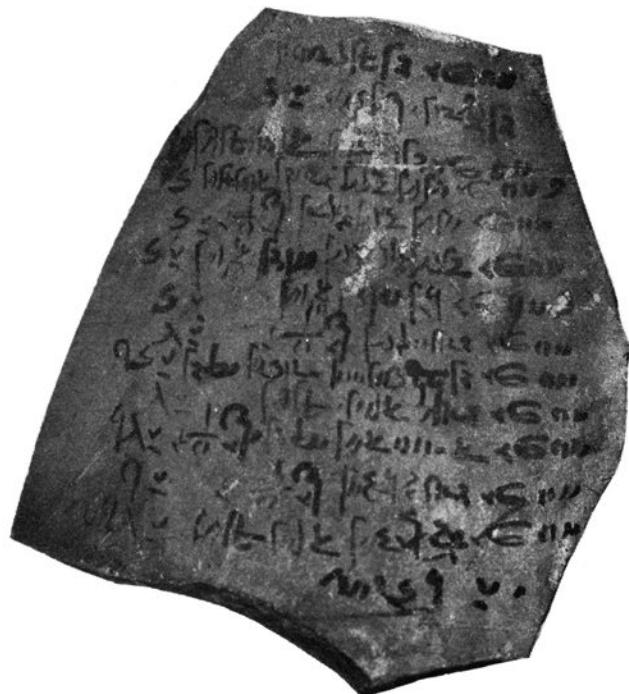
Die beiden folgenden Dokumente, welche der Schrift nach zu schliessen der römischen Zeit zugeordnet werden dürften, enthalten Verzeichnisse über von verschiedenen Göttern und Göttinnen geheiligte Blumensträusse, die in den ägyptischen Tempeln verkauft wurden. Dokumente dieser Art sind verhältnismässig selten, und bis heute sind m. W. nur drei Exemplare veröffentlicht worden<sup>2</sup>.

#### Transkription

1. *pɔ 'nh ⟨n⟩ īmn-nsw-*...
2. *īmn-htp sɔ Sn-Hr(?) ht 50*
3. *pɔ 'nh ⟨n⟩ īmn-'ipj' īj-m-htp sɔ Smɔ-tɔ.wj ht '15'*
4. *'n pɔ 'nh ⟨n⟩ R' tɔ.wj Mn᷑ nb M᷑tn īj-m-htp ⟨sɔ⟩ Smɔ-tɔ.wj ht 20*
5. *pɔ 'nh ⟨n⟩ R' tɔ.wj Mn᷑ nb tɔ-ts'r Sn-ɔ ht 20*
6. *pɔ 'nh ⟨n⟩ Mn᷑ nb Ws.t Pɔ-tj-īmn-ipj ht 20*
7. *pɔ 'nh ⟨n⟩ Mw.t Pɔ-tj-īmn-ipj ht 20*
8. *pɔ 'nh ⟨n⟩ Hnsw pɔ hrt.t Sn-ɔ ht 20*
9. *pɔ 'nh ⟨n⟩ īmn-[nɔj=w]-Hmn-iw n Dmɔ Pɔ-śr-īmn ht 25*
10. *pɔ 'nh ⟨n⟩ Hnsw īj-m-htp sɔ Smɔ-tɔ.wj ht 10*
11. *pɔ 'nh ⟨n⟩ īs iwm Wsir Pɔ-śr-īmn sɔ Sn-ɔ ht 12*

<sup>1</sup> Mr A. F. Shore hat mir gütigst die photographischen Aufnahmen zur Verfügung gestellt.

<sup>2</sup> DO Strassburg 1973 + 2017 und DO Strassburg 462 (SPIEGELBERG in Sitzungsberichte d. Bayr. Akad. d. Wiss. Philos.-philol. u. hist. Kl., Jahrg. 1926, 2. Abh., S. 7 ff.); DO Uppsala 1174 (WÅNGSTEDT, Ausgewählte demot. Ostraka, S. 159 ff.).



XIX. DO BM 26200.

12. *p<sup>3</sup> 'nh <n> Hnsw nb 'h<sup>c</sup> Sn-<sup>c</sup><sub>3</sub> ht 5*  
 13. *p<sup>3</sup> 'nh <n> k<sup>3</sup> M<sup>3</sup>t Ij-m-htp <s<sup>3</sup>> Sm<sup>3</sup>-t<sup>3</sup>.wj ht 12 kt 1/2*  
 14. *r ht 229 kt 1/2*

*Übersetzung*

1. Der Lebensstrauß des Amun, des Königs ...
2. Amenhotep, Sohn des Senhor(?), 50 Silberlinge.
3. Der Lebensstrauß des Amenope. Imhotep, Sohn des Semtou, 15 Silberlinge;
4. ebenfalls der Lebensstrauß der Ratou (und) des Month, des Herrn von *M<sup>3</sup>tn*. Imhotep, (Sohn) des Semtou, 20 Silberlinge.
5. Der Lebensstrauß der Ratou (und) des Month, des Herrn der Nekropole. Seno 20 Silberlinge.
6. Der Lebensstrauß des Month, des Herrn von Theben. Peteamenope 20 Silberlinge.
7. Der Lebensstrauß der Mut. Peteamenope 20 Silberlinge.
8. Der Lebensstrauß des Chonspekhrat. Seno 20 Silberlinge.

9. Der Lebensstrauß des Amun[na]chomneu in Djeme. Pshenamun  
25 Silberlinge.
10. Der Lebensstrauß des Chons. Imhotep, Sohn des Semtou, 10 Silberlinge.
11. Der Lebensstrauß der Isis und des Osiris. Pshenamun, Sohn des Seno, 12 Silberlinge.
12. Der Lebensstrauß des Chons, des Herrn der Zeit. Seno 5 Silberlinge.
13. Der Lebensstrauß des Stieres von Medamud. Imhotep, (Sohn) des Semtou, 12 Silberlinge 1/2 (Silber)-Kite.
14. Summe 229 Silberlinge 1/2 (Silber)-Kite.

### Bemerkungen

Z. 1. *'nh*, „Lebensstrauß“. Über diese, durch verschiedene Götter und Göttinnen geheiligten Blumensträusse, welche in den Tempeln Ägyptens gekauft werden konnten und u. a. den Toten als Opfergabe gebracht wurden, um ihnen jenseitiges Leben zu verleihen, vgl. Wängstedt, a. A., S. 159 f.; vgl. auch Bonnet, a. A., S. 121. — *Imn-nsw-* ... „Amun, König ...“. Eine sichere Lesung des letzten Wortes in diesem Epitheton des Gottes Amun kann ich nicht geben.

Z. 3. *Imn-ipj*, Amenope [wörtl. „Amun (im) Harem“], als Bezeichnung des in dem Tempel von Luxor verehrten Gottes Amun.

Z. 4. *R'-t<sup>3</sup>.wj*, Ratou. Über diese Göttin, die Gemahlin des Gottes Month, siehe Bonnet, a. A., S. 623 f. — *Mn<sup>t</sup> nb M<sup>3</sup>tn*, „Month, der Herr von *M<sup>3</sup>tn*“. In *M<sup>3</sup>tn*, dem demot. Namen des griech. *κεραμεῖα* (vgl. Otto, Topographie des thebanischen Gaues, Berlin 1952, S. 79), einem Dorf auf dem westlichen Nilufer, in der Nähe von dem heutigen Medinet Habu, lag ein dem Gott Month geweihter Tempel, der nach Spiegelberg möglicherweise ein Filialheiligtum des grossen Monthtempels von Hermontis war (Demotica I, München 1925, S. 13<sup>1</sup>).

Z. 9. *Imn-[n<sup>3</sup>j=w]-Hmn-iw*, Amun[na]chomneu. *n<sup>3</sup>j=w-Hmn-iw*, die Bezeichnung der Acht Urgötter, deren Grabstätte nach einer Legende in Djeme lag. In einem kleinen Tempel, der diese Grabstätte bezeichnete, spielte sich der Totenkult für Amun und die Acht Urgötter ab<sup>2</sup>. Der Gott Amunnachomneu ist auch in anderen thebanischen Urkunden

<sup>1</sup> Sitzungsber. d. Bayer. Akad. d. Wiss. Philos.-philol. u. hist. Kl. Jahrg. 1925, 6. Abh.

<sup>2</sup> Vgl. SETHE, Amun und die Acht Urgötter von Hermopolis, Berlin 1929, S. 53 f. (Abh. d. Preuss. Akad. d. Wiss., Jahrg. 1929, Nr. 4); vgl. auch KEEPS, Der Götterglaube im alten Aegypten, Leipzig 1941, S. 347 sowie BONNET, a. A., S. 799.

erwähnt, u. a. in vielen von Ursula Kaplony-Heckel veröffentlichten Tempel-Eiden, in welchen der Eid bei Amunnachomneu (oder vor ihm) geschworen wird<sup>1</sup>. Als Eidstelle ist „das Haus von Djeme“ (*pr Dm<sup>3</sup>*) bzw. „der Dromos von Djeme“ (*bȝ hȝth n Dm<sup>3</sup>*) angegeben. Ob es sich um den in dem obigen kleinen Tempel verehrten Amun (als einer der Acht Urgötter) handelt, lässt sich nicht mit Sicherheit sagen; es ist aber nicht ganz unwahrscheinlich.

Z. 11. Zu *Is irm Wsir*, Isis und Osiris, vgl. Ursula Kaplony-Heckel, a. A., Nr. 141, wo der Anruf im Eid an „Isis und Osiris“ gerichtet wird.

Z. 12. Zu dem Gott *Hnsw nb ḥ* „Chons, der Herr der (Lebens)-Zeit“, vgl. Thompson, Theban Ostraca, Part 2, D 88, S. 58, Anm. 2.

Z. 13. Zu *kȝ Mȝt* „der Stier von Medamud“, in dem Tempel von Medamud als Erscheinungsform des Gottes Month verehrt, vgl. Bonnet, a. A., S. 444 f.

### Verkauf von „Lebenssträussen“

XX. DO BM 43513. Grösse: 10,5 × 9,6 cm. Theben. Römische Zeit.

#### Transkription

1. *pȝ ḥȝ < n > Imn-Rȝ-nsw-ntr.w pȝ ntr ḥȝ Pȝ-tj-Hnsw* (sub lin.) ht 12
2. *pȝ ḥȝ < n > pȝ ntr ḥȝ Imn-ipȝ Pȝ-tj-Imn-nsw-bȝ.wȝ ht 22*
3. *pȝ ḥȝ < n > Rȝ-tȝ.wȝ n pr Mnȝ Gmtȝ < sȝ > Pȝ-tj-Hnsw ht 21*
4. *pȝ ḥȝ < n > Is-ib-wr.t Gmtȝ sȝ Pȝ-tj-Hnsw ht 12*
5. *pȝ ḥȝ < n > Nj.t Pȝ-Šȝ ... Gmtȝ ht 6*
6. *pȝ ḥȝ < n > nb ... Gmtȝ ht 7*

#### Übersetzung

1. Der Lebensstrauß des Amonrasonther, des grossen Gottes. Petechons (sub lin.) 12 Silberlinge.
2. Der Lebensstrauß des grossen Gottes Amenope. Petemestou 22 Silberlinge.
3. Der Lebensstrauß der Ratou im Tempel des Month. Gemti, (Sohn) des Petechons, 21 Silberlinge.
4. Der Lebensstrauß der Isis, der Grossherzigen. Gemti, Sohn des Petechons, 12 Silberlinge.
5. Der Lebensstrauß der Neit. Pshai ... Gemti 6 Silberlinge.
6. Der Lebensstrauß ... Gemti 7 Silberlinge.

<sup>1</sup> Ägyptologische Abhandlungen, Bd. 6, 1–2, Wiesbaden 1963.



XX. DO BM 43513.

### Bemerkungen

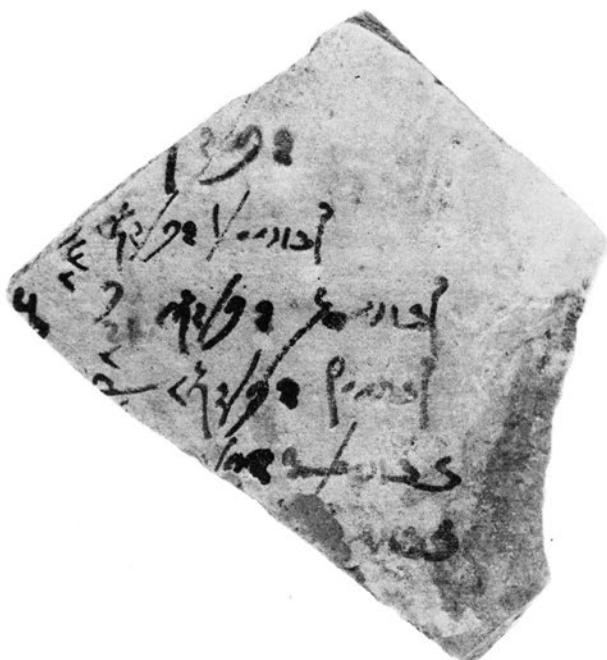
Z. 2. Das Epitheton *p<sup>3</sup> ntr* „der grosse Gott“ steht hier vor dem Namen des Gottes. — Zu dem Gott *Imn-ipj*, Amenope, vgl. Nr. XIX/3 Bem.

Z. 3. *Gm<sup>t</sup>*, Gemti, vielleicht derselbe wie in Z. 4.

Z. 4. Das Wort *'nh* „Lebensstrauss“ erscheint hier sowie in den folgenden Zeilen in abgekürzter Schreibung. Der Handschrift nach zu schliessen ist aber die Urkunde von einem und demselben Schreiber ausgeschrieben worden. — *Is-ib-wr.t*, „Isis, die Grossherzige“. Der Ausdruck *ib.wr.t*, „(die Grossherzige“ war mir als Epitheton der Göttin Isis bis heute unbekannt. Als Frauenname erscheint aber dieses Epitheton in DO Ashmolean 792/1 (Orientalia Suecana 14–15, 1966, S. 35).

Z. 5. Wenn das Wort *'nh*, wie in der vorigen Zeile *š<sup>3</sup>h* und nicht *š<sup>3</sup>sh* (vgl. Erichsen, Demot. Glossar, S. 64) geschrieben ist, muss die folgende Gruppe *Imn*, Amun, sein, was wohl hier kaum der Fall ist.

Z. 6. Die Entzifferung des Gottesnamen ist mir nichteglückt.



XXI. DO A 3.

### Liste über Öfen und ihre Gebrauchszeiten

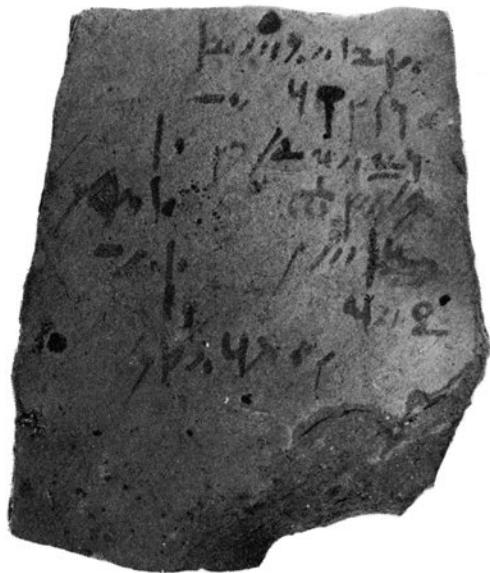
XXI. DO A 3. Grösse: 9,8 × 9,5 cm. Oberägypten. Wahrscheinlich römische Zeit.

#### *Transkription*

1. *tʒ hrʒ.t ...*
2. *tpj ʒh sw 11 tʒ hrʒ.t mh-6.t ...*
3. *tpj ʒh sw 20 tʒ hrʒ.t mh-7.t ...*
4. *tpj ʒh sw 'rkj tʒ hrʒ.t [mh]-8.t ...*
5. *ibt-2 ʒh sw 13 tʒ hr[ʒ.t] ...*
6. *ibt-2 ʒh [sw ...] ...*

#### *Übersetzung*

1. Der Ofen ...
2. am 11. Thoth: der 6. Ofen ...
3. am 20. Thoth: der 7. Ofen ...
4. am 30. Thoth: der 8. Ofen ...
5. am 13. Paophe: der ... Ofen ...
6. am ... Paophe: ...



XXII. DO B 1301.

### Bemerkung

Z. 1. *hrȝ.t*, „Ofen“. Das Wort, in Erichsen, Demot. Glossar, nicht verzeichnet, ist die demotische Entsprechung des hierogl.  *hrȝ.t*, die Bezeichnung des von den Metallarbeitern verwendeten Ofens, kopt. *ȝpω* (vgl. Äg. WB 3, S. 148).

### Lieferungsabrechnung

XXII. DO B 1301. Grösse: 7 × 9 cm. Theben. Spätptolemäische Zeit.

- |                                |                      |
|--------------------------------|----------------------|
| 1. <i>pȝ ip pȝ fȝj</i>         |                      |
| 2. <i>sw rtb 2</i>             | <i>ht 7</i>          |
| 3. <i>sgn krm</i>              | <i>ht 1</i>          |
| 4. ... <sup>c</sup> <i>ȝ.t</i> | <i>ht 1 kt 6 1/4</i> |
| 5. <i>bn(?)</i>                | <i>ht 1 kt 7</i>     |
| 6. <i>nḥḥ</i>                  | <i>ht 1</i>          |
| 7. <i>r ht 12 kt 3 1/4</i>     |                      |

*Übersetzung*

1. Die Abrechnung der Lieferung.
2. Weizen: 2 Artaben 7 Silberlinge
3. Kranz-Salbe 1 Silberling
4. Gross-...? 1 Silberling 6 1/4 Kite.
5. Datteln (?) 1 Silberling 7 Kite.
6. Öl 1 Silberling.
7. Summe 12 Silberlinge 3 1/4 Kite.

**Bemerkungen**

Z. 1. *fʒj* „Lieferung“, auch in der Bedeutung „Einkommen“. Beide Alternativen sind hier zutreffend.

Z. 2. Der kleine schräge Strich vor *ht* „Silberling“ ist, wenn absichtlich geschrieben, *r* „macht“ zu lesen. Vgl. aber Z. 3–6, wo der Strich fehlt. — Das Zeichen *ht* erscheint hier sowie in den folgenden Zeilen in abgekürzter Schreibung.

Z. 4. Es handelt sich hier um eine Art Kraut. Eine sichere Entzifferung des ersten Zeichens kann ich aber nicht geben.

Z. 5. *bn* (?) „Datteln“. Der grobe gebogene Strich am Anfang der Gruppe macht die vorgeschlagene Deutung unsicher.

**Rechnung**

XXIII. BO B 797. Grösse: 12,7 × 8,6 cm. Theben. Spätptolemäische Zeit?

*Transkription*

Kol. 1.	Kol. 2.
1. 30 <sup>7</sup> 1/2 <i>wp.t</i>	1. 310 <i>wp.t</i>
2. <i>Pa-Imn</i> 110	2. ..? 156
3. <i>Pʒ-ṣr-Is</i> 24	3. <i>Pʒ-ṣr-Imn</i> 24
4. <i>Pa-nʒ mh-1</i> 34 1/2	4. <i>Dd-hr mh-1</i> 34 1/2
5. <i>Pa-hʒ.t</i> 30 1/2 [ <i>mh-2</i> 20]	5. <i>mh-2</i> 1 <i>20</i> <i>mh-3</i> 30 1/2
6. <i>ḥ-Imn-r.r=w</i> 20	6. <i>r</i> 265 <i>sp</i> 45
7. ... 12	7. <i>Pʒ-ṣt&lt;ṣʒ&gt; Pʒ-ḥm</i>
8. <i>Hr sʒ Pa-rt(?)</i> 10	8. <i>Ns-Mn sʒ Pʒ-tj-Imn-nsw-tʒ.wj</i>
9. <i>r</i> 241	9. <i>Hr sʒ Pa-rt(?)</i>
10. <i>sp</i> 66 1/2	10. <i>Pʒ-ṣr-Hnsw sʒ Pʒ-tj-Wsir</i>

11. 39 1/2  
 12. 12  
 13. 42  
 14. 5  
 15.  $\langle r \rangle$  98 1/2

### Übersetzung

Kol. 1.		Kol. 2.
1. 307 1/2. Spezifikation:		1. 310 Spezifikation:
2. Paamun	110	2. ... 156
3. Pshenesse	24	3. Pshenamun 24
4. Pana; die erste	34 1/2	4. Djeho; die erste 34 1/2
5. Pahat	30 1/2	5. die zweite 20; die dritte 30 1/2
	[die zweite 20]	6. Summe 265, Rest 45
6. $Ih\cdot Imn\cdot r.r=w$	20	7. $P\dot{\gamma}\cdot \ddot{s}st$ (Sohn) des Pakhom;
7. ...	12	8. Esmin, Sohn des Petemestou;
8. Hor, Sohn des Paret(?)	10	9. Hor, Sohn des Paret(?)
9. Summe	241	10. Pshenchons, Sohn des Peteu-
10. Rest	66 1/2	sire.
11. 39 1/2		
12. 12		
13. 42		
14. 5		
15. (Summe) 98 1/2		

### Bemerkungen

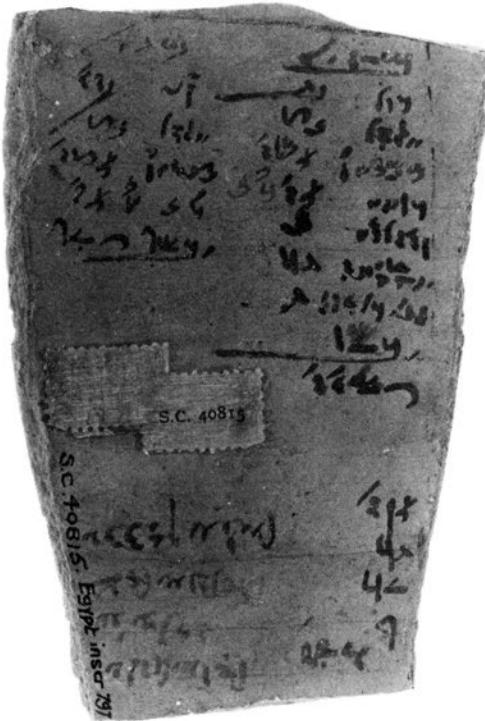
#### Kol. 1.

Z. 4. Der Ausdruck  $m\dot{h}\cdot 1$  „die erste“ (vgl. Kol. 2, Z. 4) sowie  $m\dot{h}\cdot 2$  „die zweite“ (so auch Z. 5 und Kol. 2, Z. 5) und  $m\dot{h}\cdot 3$  „die dritte“ (vgl. Kol. 2, Z. 5) sind vielleicht in der Bedeutung „die erste Rate“ usw. zu verstehen.

Z. 5.  $m\dot{h}\cdot 2\ 20$  „die zweite: 20“ ist durch ein Versehen notiert. Die Zeichen sind unvollständig ausgelöscht, und die Zahl „zwanzig“ soll nicht in die Schluss-Summe mit eingerechnet werden.

Z. 6. Zu dem Namen  $Ih\cdot Imn\cdot r.r=w$ , griech.  $\chi\mu\nu\alpha\rho\nu\varsigma$ , vgl. Revillout, Chrestomathie démotique, Paris 1880, S. 84.

Z. 7. Die Lesung dieses Namens ist mir nicht gegückt.



XXIII. BO B 797.

Z. 8. Der zweite Name ist möglicherweise *Pa-rt*, Paret, zu lesen. Zur Schreibung vgl. SPIEGELBERG in ZÄS 50, 1912, S. 31.

Z. 15. Vor der Schluss-Summe ist wohl *r* „Summe“ zu ergänzen.

*Kol. 2.*

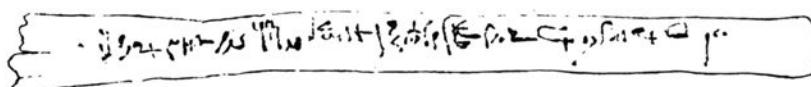
Z. 7-9. Sämtliche Namen sind verkehrt geschrieben.

### Mumienbinde mit demotischer Aufschrift

XXIV. DM W 24. Grösse: 48,2 × 3,4 cm. Theben. Wahrscheinlich 1.-2.  
Jh. n. Chr.

Die Leinenbinde, in Luxor erworben, soll angeblich von Deir el-Medineh herstammen<sup>1</sup>. Die Aufschrift, in schwarzer Farbe, ist gut

<sup>1</sup> Eine Anzahl Mumienbinden desselben Typs von Deir el-Medineh ist von SPIEGELBERG in Demotica 2, München 1928, S. 17 ff. veröffentlicht (Sitzungsber. d. Bayer. Akad. d. Wiss. Philos.-philol. u. hist. Kl. Jahrg. 1928, 2. Abh.).



XXIV. DM W 24.

erhalten. Die Binde hat der Mumie eines Mannes gehört, und der Text gibt eine auf Mumienetiketten häufig vorkommende Formel wieder<sup>1</sup>. Der Schrift nach zu schliessen stammt die Binde aus römischer Zeit, wahrscheinlich aus dem 1.-2. Jahrhundert n. Chr.

Der Text lautet in Transkription und Übersetzung: ‘nh bj=f m-bȝh Wsir-Skr pȝ ntr ‘ȝ nb ȝbt Pȝ-sn-2 sȝ Hr-mȝj-hs „Es lebt seine Seele vor Osiris-Sokar, dem grossen Gott, dem Herrn von Abydos. Psensneu<sup>2</sup> (Sohn) des Harmihos.“

<sup>1</sup> MÖLLER, Mumienschilder, Leipzig 1913, S. 4, Formel 3 c.

<sup>2</sup> Zu diesem Namen vgl. GRIFFITH, a. A., Ind. 595.

OTTO MEINARDUS

## The Theological Issues of Contraception in the Coptic Church

In order to understand the prevailing reluctance of the hierarchy and the theologians of the Coptic Orthodox Church to issue a clear statement on the ethic of contraception, it is necessary to appreciate the serious moral dilemma, in which the Orthodox Copts find themselves. In fact, the Coptic Orthodox moral theologian is faced with a tremendous challenge.

### I. The Population Problem in Egypt

On the one hand, the Nile Delta and the Nile Valley, the land of the Copts, belongs to one of the most densely populated regions in the world, and being aware of this, the Government of the United Arab Republic has called upon all of its citizens to employ contraceptive methods so as to limit conceptions. The phenomenal and unprecedented growth, awesomely and apprehensively termed a "population explosion" prefigures crises of grave proportions ahead unless it is promptly and decisively checked.

Recent birth rates in Egypt exceed 42 per thousand population and indicate a very large fertility. Over the years, the rates have fluctuated somewhat, from 37.6 in 1942 to 45.1 in 1952, to 42.9 in 1960, but so far no clear trend of any decline can be observed. Death rates in Egypt, although still high, have indicated a distinct decline in mortality since the Second World War. The death rate fell steadily from 27.7 per thousand population in 1945 to 16.9 in 1960. Of extreme importance in this respect is the decline of the infant mortality rate, which fell from 153 per thousand babies born alive in 1945 to 109 in 1960, a drop of 44 deaths per thousand babies in fifteen years. And the application of new methods of epidemic control, the improvement of sanitation, and the development of public health facilities and child welfare centres may continue to decrease the death rate well below the present level.

Unless a sharp decline in the birth rate occurs, the natural increase will continue at a much higher rate in the future, and the population of

Egypt is likely to double within the next twenty-five years. The current population growth seriously impedes the rate of economic development. In spite of the great efforts of the government to expand the cultivated area and to promote industrialization, the increase in agriculture and industrial resources has been at a slower rate than the increase in population. Between 1897 and 1960, the cultivated area increased by 16 %, the crop area increased by 50 %, and the population by 168 %. As a result, the cultivated area per head and the crop area per head declined by 56 % and 44 % respectively. Despite the fertility of the land, the abundance of water for irrigation and the suitability of the climate, the present cultivated area can by no means satisfy the needs of the total population.<sup>1</sup>

In order to strike a reasonable balance between population growth and economic development, a nation-wide family planning program has been initiated. At the National Assembly on March 26th, 1964, President Gamal 'Abd al-Nasser drew the attention of the members to the problem of family planning, emphasizing the necessity of applying all the methods offered by modern science to supplement the natural process of family planning. The issue was discussed again in the National Assembly on February 9th and 10th, 1965 and was referred to the appropriate com-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the following studies on fertility and population: AZMI, HAMED EL-SAYED, The Growth of Population as related to some Economic Aspects of Egypt's National Development. Cairo, 1937. CLELAND, WENDELL, The Population Problem in Egypt: A Study of Population trends and conditions in Modern Egypt. Lancaster, 1936. EL-DALI, ABDEL HAMID, Vital Factors Regarding the Population Problem in Egypt. Cairo, 1954 (arabic). EL-GRITLY, ALI, The Population and Economic Resources of Egypt. Cairo, 1962 (arabic). FARID, I. A., Population of Egypt. Cairo, 1948. KAMEL, A. M., Vital Statistics of Egypt. Cairo, 1927. NAMEK, SALAH AD-DIN, The Population Problem in Egypt. Cairo, 1957 (arabic). MBORIA, L., La Population de l'Egypte. Cairo, 1938. WARRINER, D., Land and Poverty in the Middle East. London, 1948. ABDEL-ATY, S. H., Life-Table Functions for Egypt based on Model Life Tables and Quasi Stable Populations, The Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly (MMFQ), XXXIX, 2, 1961, pp. 350-377. ABU LUGHOD, J. The Emergence of Differential Fertility in Urban Egypt, MMFQ, XLIII, 2, 1965, pp. 235-253. CLELAND, W., A Population Plan for Egypt, L'Egypte Contemporaine, Nov., 1943, pp. 461-484. EL-BADRY, M. A., Some Aspects of Fertility in Egypt, MMFQ, XXXIV, 1, 1956, pp. 22-43. EL-BADRY, M. A., Some Demographic Measurements for Egypt based on the Stability of Census Age Distributions, MMFQ, XXXIII, 3, 1955, pp. 268-305. HUSEIN, H., United Arab Republic, Family Planning and Population Programs, I, 12, Chicago, 1966, pp. 143-150. MARZOUK, GIGRIS A., Fertility of the Urban and Rural Population in Egypt, L'Egypte Contemporaine, Jan., 1957, pp. 27-34.

mittee for study. In the meantime, an official document was published by the Ministry of Social Affairs and approved by the leaders of the Islamic University of al-Azhar stating that family planning does not contradict the principles of Islam.<sup>2</sup>

Thus, there is no question that the Orthodox Copts must respond in one way or another to the prevailing socio-economic situation in the United Arab Republic.

On the other hand, the Coptic Orthodox Church relies for its attitude in matters of faith and morals upon the teachings of the Canon of Holy Scripture and the teachings of the pre-Chalcedonian Church Fathers and Canon Law. In this connection, we must recognize, however, that the theological and moral precepts of the Coptic Church were issued at a time, when the problem of overpopulation did not present itself. At the outset of the Christian Era, the world population stood at 250,000,000. Not until 1650 did it reach the 500,000,000 mark, at which time it began to rise more rapidly. By the middle of the XIXth century, it exceeded 1,000,000,000; by the middle of the XXth century 2,500,000,000. Since then it has risen to 3,000,000,000, and by the year 2000 A.D., it is conservatively expected to exceed 6,000,000,000.<sup>3</sup>

Neither the ethic of the Old and New Testaments nor the ethic of the pre-Chalcedonian Church Fathers on sex and the family ever dealt seriously with the issue of overpopulation, simply, because at that time it was not an issue. On the contrary, the stress on the procreative purpose in sexual intercourse ignored any valuation on population increase. The Church Fathers had no reason and made no effort to develop any doctrine that dealt specifically with the issue of population expansion. The prevailing view of population appeared in St. Basil's exegesis of "increase and multiply" (Gen. 1:28). According to St. Basil the text meant that man is to increase from infancy to maturity until he governs the world by reason. "We increase spiritually and multiply by good works" (Orations 2:2, PG 30:44).<sup>4</sup> On the other hand, it is doubtful whether the statement by Tertullian and by St. Jerome on the "fulness of the world" should be taken literally in terms of the problem of over-

<sup>2</sup> GADALLA, SAAD, Research Proposal in Demography and Family Planning, Social Research Center, American University in Cairo. Cairo, unpubl. ms.

<sup>3</sup> SHIMM, M. G. and EVERETT, R. O., Population Control. The Imminent World Crisis. Duke University, 1961, p. 1.

<sup>4</sup> NOONAN, J. T., Contraception. A History of its Treatment by the Catholic Theologians and Canonists. Cambridge, 1965, p. 82.

population. Arguing against the Pythagoreans and their theory of the transmigration of souls, Tertullian urged that if this theory were true, the population of the world would be unchanging. But in fact, the population is increasing: "The highest testimony is matter of common knowledge; we are burdensome to the world. The elements scarcely suffice us. Our needs press. There are complaints among all. For now nature will not support us. Pestilence, famine, wars, and the swelling up of cities are deputed, indeed, as remedies, as haircuts for the growth of the human race" (*The Soul* 30:4<sup>5</sup>). And St. Jerome follows Tertullian, when he said: "The world is already full and the earth does not hold us" (*Against Helvidius* 21, PL 23:215<sup>6</sup>). From our historical study of population increase in the Roman Empire, we know that these statements cannot be taken literally, and that they merely reflect the Christian disinterest in population increase. As J. T. NOONAN says: "The procreative requirement in intercourse thus stopped short of a plea for propagation. The evaluation of virginity cut across the valuation of procreation. Procreative purpose was valued as a rational control of marital intercourse, as an answer to the Gnostic attack on intercourse. The connection between procreation and an increase of population was not explored.<sup>7</sup>

## II. The Attitudes of the Men of the Past to Contraception

In the following pages we shall trace the attitude of the writers of the Old and New Testaments as well as the pre-Chalcedonian Fathers towards sex in general and contraception in particular. By contraception we mean any method or behaviour, which can be applied to prevent conception, ranging from total abstinence to the "appliance methods" (e.g. mechanical devices or spermicides<sup>8</sup>) and "non-appliance methods" (e.g. coitus interruptus or the rhythm method).

### 1. *The Egyptian Papyri*

We shall commence our study, however, by referring briefly to the oldest surviving medical prescriptions pertaining to contraceptive techniques. These documents are five different Egyptian papyri between

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<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 83.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 84–85.

<sup>8</sup> The most common modern devices are the condom or sheath for the penis, sponges, tampons, diaphragms, vaginal tablets, vaginal jelly, intra uterine devices, spermicides and oral contraceptives.

1900 b.c. and 1100 b.c. The Petri Papyrus, found at Kahun in April 1889 dates from the reign of Amenemhet III (XIIth dynasty), and is a medical papyrus giving gynaecological prescriptions. The papyrus offers three different formulae to prevent conception. 1. Crocodile's dung cut up in fermented mucilage, 2. Honey and sodium carbonate to be sprinkled in the vulva, and 3. a substance, whose name is now undecipherable to be mixed with mucilage and sprinkled in the vulva.<sup>9</sup> DAWSON, who summarized these prescriptions, indicated that the first method was probably used as a pessary for insertion in the vagina, the second consisted of plugging the vagina with honey and natron, and the third mentions a gum-like substance for insertion in the vagina.<sup>10</sup> HIMES shows that these early contraceptive methods were by no means exclusively magical, but also based upon some appreciation of their physiological properties, for crocodile's dung inserted as a pessary in the vagina is not essentially unlike a sponge soaked in a weak acid.<sup>11</sup> This is a contraceptive device, which is effectively employed by many Egyptians to this very day.

The Ebers Papyrus, which is a compendium of medical writings, dates at the latest from 1550 b.c.<sup>12</sup> In this document, the prescription said that pregnancy may be prevented for "one, two or three years" by a recipe of acacia tips, coloquintida, and dates, mixed with honey, to be placed in the uterus. "The remarkable nature of this recipe is apparent, when it is recalled that jellies, in which lactic acid is the active agent, are used by most of the birth-control clinics in England and the United States of America."<sup>13</sup> The Berlin Papyrus is a medical document of the XIXth dynasty (1330 b.c.), and the text seems to have been copied from an older manuscript. The recipe to prevent pregnancy prescribes fumigation of the uterus with *mimi*, and afterwards, to give her a pre-

<sup>9</sup> GRIFFITH, F. LL., *The Petri Papyri. Hieratic Papyri from Kahun and Gurob. Principally of the Middle Kingdom*. London, 1898, prescriptions XXI–XXIII. DEINES, HILDEGARD V., GRAPOW, HERMANN, WESTERNDORF, WOLFHART, *Übersetzung der Medizinischen Texte, Grundriss der Medizin der alten Ägypter*, IV. Berlin, 1958, pp. 277–278.

<sup>10</sup> DAWSON, WARREN, *Early Ideas Concerning Conception and Contraception, Medical Help on Birth Control*. London, 1928, pp. 189–200.

<sup>11</sup> HIMES, NORMAN E., *Medical History of Contraception*. New York, 1963, p. 62.

<sup>12</sup> EBERS, GEORG MORITZ, *Papyros Ebers*. Leipzig, 1875. BRYAN, CYRIL P., *The Papyrus Ebers*. London, 1930.

<sup>13</sup> DICKINSON, R. L. and BRYANT, L. S., *The Control of Conception*. Baltimore, 1931, p. 41.

scription to get rid of it, grease, *m'atet* herb, sweet ale. Cook them. To be swallowed for four mornings. DAWSON remarks that presumably the fumigation is a preparatory measure before sexual intercourse, and the administration of the dose is made after.<sup>14</sup>

According to the Ramasseum Papyrus IV, crocodile dung should be placed on moistened fibres in the opening of the uterus. In the Carlsberg Papyrus the contents of the recipe are lacking, but the contraceptive purpose of a formula is evident.<sup>15</sup>

## 2. *The Old Testament Writers*

In order to appreciate the complex situation for the Orthodox Copts, we must briefly review first of all the Old and the New Testament attitudes towards sex and contraception. With respect to the Old Testament, the attitude of its authors may be resolved by the following propositions: Marriage is good, fecundity is good, and sexual activity is not necessarily good.

In the Yahwist Source of Genesis it is stated: "Then the Lord God said, 'It is not good that the man should be alone, I will make him a helper fit for him'." (Gen. II:18.) "Therefore a man leaves his father and his mother and cleaves to his wife, and they become one flesh" (Gen. II:24). Procreation is the theme which runs through the patriarchal stories. Abraham and his family are several times promised a posterity "numerous as the stars" (Gen. XV:5, XXVI:4) or as the "sand which is on the seashore" (Gen. XXII:17). Large families and concern for posterity are constantly emphasized, and only one Old Testament figure is presented to us in the virginal state, Jeremiah, to whom the Lord spoke: "Thou shalt not take a wife, nor shalt thou have sons or daughters in this place" (Jeremiah XVI:2).<sup>16</sup> The marriage ideal finds its theological analogy in the prophecies of Hosea, in which God is compared with a husband linked to a faithless wife. The Song of Songs is an unabashed commentary on the sentiment of Proverbs XXX:18–19, "three things are too wonderful for me, four I do not understand ... the way of a man with a maid". The Song of Songs is a series of poems describing the delights

<sup>14</sup> WRESZINSKI, W., *Der grosse medizinische Papyrus des Berliner Museums*. Leipzig, 1909. DAWSON, W., op. cit., p. 196.

<sup>15</sup> GARDINER, A. H., *The Ramesseum Papyri*. Oxford, 1955. IVERSEN, E., Det Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskab hist. phil. Meddelelser, XXVI, 1939. GHALIOUNGI, PAUL, *Magic and Medical Science in Ancient Egypt*. London, 1963, pp. 48–57. NOONAN, J. T., op. cit., p. 10.

<sup>16</sup> LEGRAND, LUCIEN, *The Biblical Doctrine of Virginity*. New York, 1963, p. 29.

of sexual love written with Oriental sensuousness. Here sexual love has a value independent of fertility.

In the Old Testament world, polygamy as well as slave concubinage are allowed. Divorce may be obtained only by a husband (Deuteronomy XXIV:1–4).

At the same time, however, we discover also a certain distrust in sex. Thus, Eve (Gen. III:1–17) and Delilah (Judges XVI) tempted Adam and Samson respectively, and Bathsheba (II Samuel XI–XII) was the cause for David's downfall and Thamar of Amnon's (II Samuel XIII). In the penitential Psalm (LI:5), the psalmist sang: "Behold, I was brought forth in iniquity, and in sin did my mother conceive me." In the Jewish ceremonial law, uncleanness was associated with masturbation (Leviticus XV:16) as well as with marital intercourse (Leviticus XV:18).

In terms of its attitude towards sex, we discover already in the Old Testament a certain dualism, which in the New Testament and later in the pre-Chalcedonian fathers becomes even more pronounced.

With regard to contraceptive methods, apparently various techniques were employed by the Jews. In case of dangerous deliveries, the life of the mother was considered more important than that of the child. "When a woman giving birth to a child is in danger, the unborn child may be cut to pieces and removed, for her life takes precedence over the life of the unborn child."<sup>17</sup> Here, therefore, we have a clear case of embryotomy.

*Coitus interruptus* is referred to in the celebrated text in Genesis XXXVIII:7–10. "But Er, Judah's first-born, was wicked in the sight of the Lord, and the Lord slew him. Then Judah said to Onan, 'Go in to your brother's wife, and perform the duty of a brother-in-law to her, and raise up offspring for your brother'. But Onan knew that the offspring would not be his, so when he went in to his brother's wife he spilled the semen on the ground, lest he should give offspring to his brother. And what he did was displeasing in the sight of the Lord, and he slew him also." Rather than merely breaking the levirate law set forth in the Deuteronomic Law (Deut. XXV:9), Onan's real offense consisted not in limiting his offspring, but in avoiding all procreation by Thamar. Onan had broken a law designed for the perpetuation of the name of the elder son. It was Onan's disobedience, his lack of sense of identity with the family rather than his contraceptive practice, which

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<sup>17</sup> MISHNA OHOTH, VII, 6, cf. PREUSS, JULIUS, Biblisch-Talmudische Medizin. Beiträge zur Geschichte der Heilkunde und der Kultur überhaupt. Berlin, 1911, p. 169.

called forth such severe punishment. According to the ancient law, as pointed out above, the emission of semen led to the state of ritual impurity, but certainly not to condemnation, although in later rabbinical ethic, the act of *coitus interruptus* was interpreted as the cause of God's severe punishment. They even said, that not only Onan but also Er practised *coitus interruptus*, and that Er, too died on account of this sin.<sup>18</sup> No matter how we look at this story, later commentators, both Jewish and Christian, used this narrative to demonstrate the sinfulness of contraception. In the Occident, the most recent authoritative interpretation of Genesis XXXVIII was given by Pope Pius XI in *Casti connubii*: "It is, therefore, not remarkable that Holy Writ itself testifies that the Divine Majesty pursued this wicked crime with detestation and punished it with death, as St. Augustine recalls."<sup>19</sup> Among the Orthodox Copts, the sin of Onan is cited as one of the strongest arguments not only against the practice of *coitus interruptus*, but against any contraceptive device.

### 3. *The New Testament Writers*

In the writings of the New Testament, the dualistic attitude towards sex, which we observed already in the Old Testament, finds an even fuller expression. In fact, it is extremely difficult to reconcile the New Testament doctrine of the superiority of virginity and chastity with the sacred character of marriage and sexual intercourse.

It is in its teaching on virginity, that the New Testament broke most radically with the Old Testament attitude towards sex and procreation. In the Gospel of St. Matthew, Jesus speaks of those, "who have made themselves eunuchs for the sake of the kingdom of heaven. He who is able to receive this, let him receive it" (XIX:12). Moreover, the disciple of Jesus Christ must renounce his family. "If anyone comes to me and does not hate his own father and mother and wife and children and brothers and sisters, yes, and even his own life, he cannot be my disciple" (Luke XIV:26), and a reward is promised to those, who leave house or wife or brothers or parents or children for the sake of the kingdom of God (Luke XVIII:29). Indeed, the New Testament ascetic attitude evaluates the family as an encumbrance. "The sons of this age marry and are given in marriage, but those who are accounted worthy to

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<sup>18</sup> GENESIS RABBAH, LXXXV, 4, 5, cf. PREUSS, J., op. cit., pp. 534–535.

<sup>19</sup> Acta Apostolicae Sedis, Commentarium officiale, 22:559, cf. NOONAN, op. cit., p. 528.

attain to that age and to the resurrection from the dead neither marry nor are given in marriage, for they cannot die any more, because they are equal to angels and are sons of God, being sons of the resurrection" (Luke XX:34–36).

The account of the Virgin Birth according to the Lukian narrative shows that the same Spirit, who can bring the Christ out of barren flesh, can also bring forth the Messiah from the dead.<sup>20</sup> Moreover, Christ Himself remained chaste.

In the Apocalypse, the one hundred and forty-four thousand, who had his and his Father's name written on their foreheads "have not defiled themselves with women, for they are chaste" (XIV:4).

St. Paul reflects the same attitude when he gives advice to the Christians in Corinth by saying: "It is not well for a man to touch a woman" (I Cor. VII:1), and in view of his eschatological convictions he counselled, that "the unmarried man is anxious about the affairs of the Lord, but the married man is anxious about worldly affairs, how to please his wife, and his interests are divided. And the unmarried woman or girl is anxious about the affairs of the Lord, how to be holy in body and spirit; but the married woman is anxious about worldly affairs, how to please her husband" (I Cor. VII:32–34).

On the other hand, the New Testament also teaches the sacredness of the marital relationship. Jesus reaffirmed the Old Testament teaching of the divine origin of marriage (Matthew XIX:4–6; Mark X:7, 8). He attended the wedding feast at Cana in Galilee and performed there His first miracle (John II:1–12), and adopted the image of the bridegroom to explain the joy of the Christian (Mark II:19, 20; Matthew XXV:1–3; John III:29).

The same Apostle, who had elevated virginity so highly, also provides us with the most profound text for the doctrine of the sacredness of marriage and the holiness of marital intercourse. In the Epistle to the Ephesians,<sup>21</sup> the marital unity of husband and wife is compared to the unity of Christ to His Church. As the Church is related to Christ, her head, in the subordination of devotion and love, so be it with the wife's subordination to her husband, and as Christ loves His Church, so a husband should nourish and cherish his own flesh (V:25–33).

<sup>20</sup> LEGRAND, L., op. cit., pp. 43–44.

<sup>21</sup> Although modern Western scholarship does not attribute the Epistle to the Ephesians to St. Paul, the Church Fathers and the Coptic Orthodox Church do not question the Pauline authorship.

In the New Testament in general, sexual intercourse is not explicitly linked to procreation, and the Old Testament reference to "increase and multiply" is not repeated in the New Testament. There is one exception, however, in the Pauline text in I Timothy II:15, which states, that the "woman will be saved through bearing children, if she continues in faith and love and holiness, with modesty". In the well-known passage on marital intercourse in I Corinthians VII:3–6, no reference is made to procreation. Marriage is an acceptable sexual outlet for those who cannot control themselves. Moreover, the sexual act is referred to as a conjugal right. "Because of the temptation to immorality, each man should have his own wife, and each woman her own husband. The husband should give to his wife her conjugal rights, and likewise the wife to her husband."

With respect to the use or the lawfulness of contraceptive devices, the New Testament does not give us any particular information. We do notice a prevailing aversion to *pharmakeia* (drugs, sorcery), which in fact are mentioned in connection with immorality, impurity and licentiousness (Galatians V:20). But, "one cannot tell from the condemnations of *pharmakeia* presented in the New Testament whether only certain drugs used for evil purposes were condemned, whether all were condemned, or whether a contraceptive potion fell within the category of 'bad medicine'."<sup>22</sup>

#### 4. The Greek Writers

There is no doubt, that a variety of contraceptive techniques were known and practised during the Apostolic Age and during the first few centuries of the Christian Era in Egypt, and it is also in the light of this observation, that we must evaluate the position taken by the Church Fathers. In the Hellenistic settlements, the works of the Greek philosophers were well known. In Aristotle's *Historia Animalium* we discover the first reference to contraception in Greek literature. He states, that contraception was practised by anointing that part of the womb on which the seed falls with oil of cedar, or with ointment of lead or with frankincense, commingled with olive oil.<sup>23</sup>

Pandanos Dioscorides of Anazarbos in Cilicia (1st cent. A.D.) wrote a work entitled *De Materia Medica*, in which he set forth four different techniques to prevent conception. Among the magical prescriptions, he mentions that the menstrual blood of women apparently prevents con-

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<sup>22</sup> NOONAN, J. T., op. cit., p. 45.

<sup>23</sup> SMITH and Ross (eds.) Works. Oxford, 1910, IV, p. 583.

ception when the women spread themselves with it, or when they step over it.<sup>24</sup> Asparagus, tied up as an amulet or drunk as a decoction will also prevent pregnancies. Dioscorides recommended various potions and medicated pessaries. Thus, for example, we hear that pepper appears to prevent conception if it is introduced as a pessary after *coitus*, and the juice of peppermint mixed with honey is supposed to prevent pregnancy as a suppository prior to *coitus*. He also suggested the anointing of the genitals with cedar-gum prior to *coitus*, applying alum in various forms to the uterus prior to *coitus*.<sup>25</sup>

Soranos of Ephesus (practised from 98–138 A.D.) had studied in Alexandria before he went to Rome to practise medicine. His *Gynaecology* was the principal source of contraceptive information for the Roman Empire, and physicians in the East and the West down to the Middle Ages have shown their dependence upon this work. In his discussion of the “Use of Abortifacients and of Measures to Prevent Conception”, Soranos distinguished between contraceptives and abortifacients. He advised that abortions should not be practised for the sake of concealing the consequences of adultery nor for the maintenance of the beauty of the female figure. On the other hand, Soranos mentioned a large variety of occlusive pessaries, vaginal plugs, using wool as a base, as well as those impregnated with gummy substances such as sour oil, honey, cedar gum, opobalsam and galbanum. Astringent solutions, e.g. alum and natron, contract the *os* and make impregnation less likely. At the same time, he warned against the practice of drinking potions with the intention to prevent conception and discouraged the use of amulets.<sup>26</sup>

In order to appreciate the attitudes of the pre-Chalcedonian Church Fathers to sex in general and to contraception in particular, it is neces-

<sup>24</sup> To this day, the Upper Egyptian woman, who wants to assure having another child, will bury the placenta of the latest born under the threshold of her home. She does this in order that when she desires to have another child, she may be able to step over the buried placenta three, five or seven times, for the belief is that its spirit will then re-enter her body to be born again as a complete child. BLACKMAN, W., *The Fellahin of Upper Egypt*. London, 1927, p. 63.

<sup>25</sup> BERENDES, J., *Des Pedanios Dioskurides aus Anazarbos Arzneimittellehre in fünf Büchern. Übersetzt und mit Erklärungen versehen*. Stuttgart, 1902, vols. i, ii, iii, iv, and v. HIMES, N. E., op. cit., pp. 85–88.

<sup>26</sup> LÜNEBURG, H., *Die Gynäkologie des Soranus von Ephesus*. München, 1894, vol. I, ch. xix, pp. 43–45. HÄSER, H., *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Medizin und der epidemischen Krankheiten*. Jena, 1875, vol. I, p. 309. HIMES, N. E., op. cit., pp. 88–92.

sary that we include in our review Philo Judaeus, who not only was the most important representative of Hellenistic Judaism, but also the greatest of all the Jewish philosophers of the Alexandrian school. Though not a Stoic, Philo reflected several Stoic tenets, especially with respect to his condemnation of the passions of love. In his *De Josepho*, in which he recalls the story of Joseph in Egypt, he has Joseph explain the difference between marital intercourse for procreation and intercourse for the unlawful purpose of pleasure.<sup>27</sup> In his *De specialibus legibus*, Philo condemns marriage with women, who are known to be sterile, and in his explanation to Leviticus XVIII:19, which prohibits intercourse during menstruation, he stresses the prohibition on the ground that conception is impossible. In many ways, Philo foreshadowed and even influenced the attitudes and doctrines of the pre-Chalcedonian Fathers on sex and contraception. "The Stoic intellectuals found in the procreative purpose the only measure by which lawful sexual behaviour could be distinguished from lust. Philo agreed."<sup>28</sup> In fact, one cannot ignore the fact that the Stoic view on the purpose of sex left a determining mark on the writings of the Church Fathers.

##### *5. The Early Church Fathers*

The teachings of the Early Church Fathers on sex and contraception are largely influenced by their intense polemics against the Gnostics and the pagans. Without going into the wide variety and the details of Gnostic theology and ethic, it can be stated that virtually without exception the Gnostics challenged marriage as a child-related institution.<sup>29</sup> In response to this view, sexual immorality was strongly condemned by the Early Church. Already St. Paul taught his new converts that incest was prohibited, a sin, which also Gentiles and Jews would have condemned, but which, at the same time, must have existed in some antinomian circles in Corinth (I Cor. V:1–8). Moreover, irregular sexual behaviour is condemned in I Corinthians VI:12–13, and in his Epistle to the Galatians the Apostle warns his readers "not to use liberty for an occasion to the flesh, but by love serve one another" (Gal. V:13). Another strong condemnation is pronounced against the fornicators in Ephesus (Eph. V:5–7), and against those extreme ascetics "who forbid to marry" (I Tim. IV:1, 3) the Apostle renewed his warnings and asserted that

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<sup>27</sup> COLSON, F. H. (ed.) *Philo*. Cambridge, Mass., 1935, vol. VI, 9:43.

<sup>28</sup> NOONAN, J. T., op. cit., p. 55.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid., p. 57.

women shall be saved through child-bearing (I Tim. II:15). Antinomian Gnosticism with its sexual permissiveness must have permeated many Christian communities in the Early Church. The Nicolaites are fiercely condemned in the Apocalypse, and antinomian license is also warned against in Jude, for they “turn the grace of our God into lasciviousness (v. 4), walking after their own lust (v. 16), they are sensual men not having the Spirit” (v. 19).

To some Gnostics, apparently all sexual activity was evil, and their most outspoken representative was Tatian, a disciple of St. Justin. According to Clement of Alexandria, Tatian even held that marriage was corruption and fornication, and similar views towards sex were entertained by Julius Cassianus. For their ethic on sex, the ascetic Gnostics used in addition to the ascetic quotations from the canonical Gospels the “Gospel According to the Egyptians”. Julius Cassianus interpreted the sayings of this latter Gospel as demanding an end to all sexual activity as well as supporting the practice of castration. In short, to defeat death was to cease from procreation.<sup>30</sup>

In many ways, the Gnostic teachings on sex exploited the Christian stress on virginity, and if the Alexandrian Gnostics referred to the example of Jesus and the teachings of St. Paul, they merely carried out the radical conclusions, which *some* of the New Testament sayings demanded. In response, Clement of Alexandria refuted their literalism and thereby retained a moderate Christian ethic on sex. One illustration of his approach to Gnostic exegesis may be sufficient. With respect to the well-known Pauline text “It is good for a man not to touch a woman” (I Cor. VII:1), which the Gnostics used for their anti-sexual attitudes, Clement resorted by saying: “When the Apostle says it is good not to touch a woman, he speaks not to those who chastely use marriage for procreation alone, but to those who were desiring to go beyond procreation, lest the adversary raise a strong blast and arouse desire for alien passions (Stromata 3.15.96). Moreover, Clement pointed out that St. Paul was a married man (I Cor. IX:5), and that St. Peter had children and that St. Philip had children and gave them in marriage.<sup>31</sup>

In the Alexandria of the IIInd century, a variety of antinomian factions must have existed within the Church, most important perhaps that of Carpocrates and his son Epiphanes. They believed that women should

<sup>30</sup> Ibid., p. 61.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid., p. 63.

be common property, and against them Clement invoked the warning given in Jude. Yet, paradoxically enough, Clement considered Carpocrates a Christian, for he asked: "How can this man still be reckoned among our number?" (Stromata 3.4.25; 3.2.8.) Indeed, the same Alexandria, which gave rise to extremisms on either side, where marriage was scorned as useless or as sinful, the same Alexandria also provided the Christian Church with an acceptable moral middle way, and its chief spokesman was Clement of Alexandria.<sup>32</sup>

In his *Apology for Christians* (PG 6:373) St. Justin had already laid down the rule for the moral behaviour of the Christian, when he said: "We Christians either marry only to produce children, or if we refuse to marry, we are completely continent", and Athenagoras in his address to the Emperor (177 A.D.) shared the same convictions when he said: "As the husbandman, throwing the seed into the ground, awaits the harvest, not sowing more upon it, so the procreation of children is the measure of our indulgence in appetite" (*Legation on Behalf of Christians* 33, PG 6:965).<sup>33</sup>

In the statements of Clement of Alexandria, the Stoic rule with regard to sex becomes even more pronounced. The Christian law is for "husbands to use their wives moderately and only for the raising up of children" (Stromata 3.11.71.4). "To have *coitus* other than to procreate children is to do injury to nature" (Paedagogus 2.10.95.3). Obviously, desire as such was considered evil, for "a man who marries for the sake of begetting children must practise continence so that it is not desire he feels for his wife, whom he ought to love, and so that he may beget children with a chaste and controlled will" (Stromata 3.7.58). Clement did not exclude love, but he distinguished between love and sexual appetite and activity. "The human ideal of continence, I mean that which is set forth by Greek philosophers, teaches that one should fight desire and not be subservient to it so as to bring it to practical effect. But our desire is not to experience it at all" (Stromata 3.7.57).<sup>34</sup>

Clement's successors retained basically this attitude towards sex. Origen, the most influential exegete and speculative theologian of the Eastern Church, was quite explicit when he said that the Christian has intercourse with his wife only for the sake of a posterity (Third Homily on Genesis VI). Moreover, the Alexandrians taught that it was strictly

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<sup>32</sup> Ibid., p. 65.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid., p. 76.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid., p. 77.

prohibited to have intercourse during pregnancy. "When the matrix is actually occupied with a fetus, it is wicked to trouble nature by breaking out superfluously in demanding lust" (*Paedagogus* 2.10.93.102). And Origen, adopting Seneca's comparison with animals, stated that there are some women, "who like animals serve lust without any restraint, indeed, I would not compare them to dumb beasts. For beasts when they conceive know not to indulge their mates further with their plenty" (Fifth Homily on Genesis IV).<sup>35</sup>

For all practical purposes, the Alexandrian view of sex largely determined the attitude of the pre-Chalcedonian Fathers. In the *Didascalia* intercourse with a pregnant wife is prohibited, for such an act was not for the production of children, but merely for pleasure. In fact, the pleasures of sexual intercourse were considered as evil.<sup>36</sup>

It is clear, therefore, that in terms of contraception, the Early Church regarded sexual intercourse valid only for one purpose, that of producing children. "If intercourse when nature itself prevented impregnation was evil, it would seem that intercourse would have been regarded as seriously sinful when a human agency made fruitful insemination impossible."<sup>37</sup>

The Alexandrian doctrine was followed by St. Ambrose in his "Exposition of the Gospel According to Luke" 1:43–45, in which he pointed out why Elizabeth was embarrassed at having a child in her old age. For not only for the pregnant, but also for the old, intercourse was considered not only shameful, but also unnatural, for procreation was impossible. And the same attitude prevailed in the writings of St. Jerome, who taught that the marital act was lustful unless for procreation. (On Galatians 5, PL 26:443.)

Among the pre-Chalcedonian Fathers, there were only two theologians, whose opinions with respect to the purpose of sexual intercourse diverted from the Alexandrian doctrine. Lactantius (260–340 A.D.) reflected the Pauline teaching about sexual intercourse as remedy for incontinence when he wrote: "Whoever cannot control his affections, let him keep them within the limits of a lawful bed" (*Divine Institutes* 6.23.13, 26). Moreover, Lactantius was the only Christian theologian of the ancient Church, who upheld the lawfulness of intercourse in pregnancy. St. John Chrysostom taught that there are two reasons why marriage is instituted,

<sup>35</sup> Ibid.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid.

that we may live chastely and that we may become parents (On Those Words of the Apostle “On Account of Fornication”, PG 51:213).<sup>38</sup>

In terms of population control, the Early Church expressed strong condemnation with regard to the prevailing attitudes, and the Roman practice of infanticide was condemned as murder. St. Justin proclaimed “we have taught that it is the act of wicked men to abandon even new-born children” (Apology for Christians, 1.27, 29, PG 6:369, 373). And the same feeling pertained towards abortion. In the “Letter of Barnabas” it is stated “thou shalt not kill the fetus by an abortion or commit infanticide” (XIX:5). The Council of Aneyra (314 A.D.) prescribed ten years of penance for women who fornicate and then destroy the product of their intercourse, and the same penalty is stated in the canons of St. Basil for women who practise abortion.<sup>39</sup>

And just as infanticide and abortion were condemned, the use of contraceptive devices was considered immoral. Parricide, the word applied to contraception, was thought of as being worse than murder, for it was “killing a man to be”. In the “Didache” or the “Teaching of the Twelve Apostles” (V:2), the “Way of Death” includes such sins as the use of *pharmakeia* and the killing of offspring. Clement of Alexandria was more explicit in his instruction when he wrote in the “Paedagogus” (2.10.91.2) “because of its divine institution for the propagation of man, the seed is not to be vainly ejaculated, nor is it to be damaged, nor is it to be wasted”. And another IIIrd century theologian, the author of the “Elenchos” or “Philosophoumena” (St. Hippolytus?) accused Pope Callixtus for being responsible for the introduction of concubinage between Christian free women and their slaves, and condemned their practices of contraception by saying: “The faithful want no children from slaves or lowborn commoners, they use drugs of sterility or bind themselves tightly in order to expel a fetus, which has already been engendered” (Elenchos 9.12.25).<sup>40</sup>

Castration, an extreme form of contraception was practised by certain Gnostic groups, for only thus can we explain that the canons of the Council of Nicaea (325 A.D.) prescribed that those who had voluntarily castrated themselves were not to be ordained, and if already ordained, they were not to exercise their priestly functions.

St. Epiphanius of Cyprus strongly condemned the irregular sexual

<sup>38</sup> Ibid., p. 84.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid., p. 88.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid., pp. 92–94.

behaviour of certain Gnostic groups whom he met in Egypt. Apparently, these Gnostics held that man was saved by the practice of intercourse though without ejaculation, and in a ritual meal, which they offered to God, they fed on human semen and menses. St. Epiphanius not only condemns the heresy, but also the contraceptive conduct of this group. "They exercise genital acts, yet prevent the conceiving of children."<sup>41</sup>

As stated above, contraceptive devices were available. Oribasios, the great IVth century physician and medical encyclopaedist gave the following counsel in his "Medical Collection" (ch. CXVI): "In order to prevent conception, drink male or female fern root in sweet tasting wine, blossoms and leaves of the willow, and cabbage blossoms in wine, after *coitus*; but when one wants to prevent conception before copulation one anoints the virile part of the man with 'hé dysome' juice. The application in a pessary after *coitus* of ground-up cabbage blossoms prevents the semen from congealing; before *coitus*, one injects a decoction of coronilla seed into the vagina."<sup>42</sup>

St. Jerome, no doubt knowing of the existence of these various devices, encouraged Eustochium to remain a virgin, and it is in his "De custodia virginitatis" that he set forth his views regarding the prevailing contraceptive practices: "Others, however, drink before *coitus* a potion in order to remain sterile, and go on even to practise abortion. Many, when they become aware of the results of their immorality, meditate on how they may deliver themselves by means of poisonous expedients, and, often dying themselves for that reason, go to hell as threefold murderers; as suicides, as adulteresses to their heavenly bridegroom Christ, and as murderesses of their still unborn child."<sup>43</sup>

The pre-Chalcedonian Church Father, who may have influenced the ethical thinking of the Coptic theologians of the mid-twentieth century with respect to contraception more than anyone else is St. Augustine, the Bishop of Hippo. In his polemics against the Manichees, St. Augustine laid the foundation for the Christian ethic of sex. The Manichees had dissociated sexual activity and procreation. St. Augustine, who had spent eleven years as a Manichean Auditor, from age eighteen to twenty-nine, exposed and condemned the sexual immoralities of his former fellow-believers. In the first year after his baptism, he wrote two books, which clearly reflect his revulsion, "The Morals of the Manichees" and

<sup>41</sup> Ibid., pp. 95–97.

<sup>42</sup> HIMES, N. E., op. cit., p. 93.

<sup>43</sup> HIMES, N. E., loc. cit.

"The Morals of the Catholic Church". In the former volume, St. Augustine declared that the Manichees were opposed to marriage because they were opposed to procreation, which, for St. Augustine, constituted the very purpose of marriage. The Manichees employed the sterile period to prevent conception, "is it not you who used to warn us to watch as much as we could the time after purification of the menses when a woman is likely to conceive, and at that time refrain from intercourse, lest a soul be implicated in the flesh? From this it follows that you consider marriage is not to procreate children, but to satiate lust" (The Morals of the Manichees 18.65).<sup>44</sup>

Similar to the condemnation of *coitus interruptus* by St. Epiphanius of Cyprus, St. Augustine also denounced the "pouring out" in a "shameful slip" (Against Faustus 22.30). In fact, the Manichees used every conceivable means to avoid conception. "They are unwilling to have children, on whose account alone marriages are made", and prostitution with its various contraceptive devices must have seemed to the Manichees preferable to marriage with procreation.

One cannot separate St. Augustine's view of sex and marriage from his personal experience. While he was a Manichee, he had lived with a girl whom he did not marry, and by whom he had a son, named Adeodatus. It was this sexual relationship, which after his conversion to Christianity led to unresolved guilt, which, in turn, determined his attitude to sexual matters, an attitude which was to become the official attitude of the Latin Church towards sex.

For St. Augustine there was nothing rational, spiritual or even sacramental in sexual intercourse, and he considered marriage as being good solely because of "offspring, fidelity and symbolic stability" (The Good of Marriage 29.32). Again and again he emphasized that sexual intercourse was lawful only for the sake of procreation. "What food is for the health of a man, intercourse is for the health of the species ... what is unlawful food in supporting life, this is fornication or adulterous intercourse in seeking offspring" (The Good of Marriage 16.18).

It is this intense stress on procreation, which led St. Augustine to consider that an unmarried woman living in a sexual relationship with an unmarried man and only wanting children may be less a sinner than some matrons, who seek marital intercourse not for progeny, but intemperately. The principal sexual sin in the eyes of St. Augustine is that of not desiring children and of preventing conception.

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<sup>44</sup> NOONAN, J. T., op. cit., p. 120.

In his book “Marriage and Concupiscence”, St. Augustine deals explicitly with the issue of contraception, condemning vehemently those, who “procure poisons of sterility, and if these do not work, extinguish and destroy the fetus in some way in the womb, preferring that their offspring die before it lives, or if it was already alive in the womb to kill it before it was born (Marriage and Concupiscence 1.15.17).

For centuries to come, moral theologians in the Orient and Occident have relied upon the Bishop of Hippo whenever they were faced with the ethic of sex. Very simply, for St. Augustine sexual activity had only one justification, that of procreativity. This view, although not shared by St. John Chrysostom, was largely followed by the Oriental Church Fathers. St. Cyril of Alexandria, for example, judged marriage as wholly good only in so far as it was used for procreation (Adoration in Spirit and Truth 15, PG 68:690).<sup>45</sup>

## 6. *The Coptic Fathers*

In spite of the fact that marriage was always considered as something good, and a “great mystery”, the Coptic Church retained the doctrine of the superiority of virginity to married life. The leadership of the Church, i.e. the bishops, archbishops and patriarchs have always been monks, and the monastic life is referred to as the “angelic life”.

Beginning with the Desert Fathers, the “Paradise or Garden of the Holy Fathers” is a heroic testimony of the battles which were fought for the sake of virginity. Whenever a carnal thought entered the mind of Ammonius, he would make a piece of hot iron and lay it upon his members, so that they always be in a state of wounds,<sup>46</sup> and whenever the devil of fornication made an attack upon Evagrius, he stood up naked the whole night long in the desert, until his flesh was quite shrivelled and dried up.<sup>47</sup> Abba Poemen used to say: ‘Thou shalt have no converse with women.’<sup>48</sup>

Demetrius, the 12th Patriarch (d. 230 A.D.), who made himself an eunuch of his own free will so that he was more glorious than those who

<sup>45</sup> Ibid., p. 139.

<sup>46</sup> BUDGE, E. A. W., *The Paradise or Garden of the Holy Fathers being Histories of the Anchorites, Recluses, Monks, Coenobites and Ascetic Fathers of the Deserts of Egypt*. London, 1907, Vol. I, p. 105.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid., I, p. 225.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid., II, p. 63.

were born eunuchs,<sup>49</sup> also counselled that the brave man is not he who kills wild beasts, but he that dies pure from the embraces and snares of women.<sup>50</sup> Benjamin I, the 38th Patriarch (623–662 A.D.), dwelt in the desert and despised his body and cut off his desires for the love of the Lord Christ our God.<sup>51</sup> The monks of the Monastery of Tamnûrah used to chastise their bodies with iron and with chains,<sup>52</sup> and Abba John, the Bishop of Niciou, killed a monk of the Wâdi 'n-Natrûn monasteries, who had committed the sin with a nun, whom he had taken into the monastery.<sup>53</sup> Gabriel I, the 57th Patriarch (910–920 A.D.), overcame the lust of sin by going round the cells of the monks outside to clean out their latrines, without that anyone knew about it, until the lust left him.<sup>54</sup>

St. Augustine had taught the virtue of sexual procreativity in married life. Menas, the 61st Patriarch (956–974 A.D.), however, no longer shared this view. His parents had forced him into marriage against his wishes, and when they had conducted him into his bridal-chamber with his wife, he said: ‘O my sister, what profit have we in this world? Let us say now that we came together and fulfilled the desire of our bodies and that we received children both female and male, what would be the advantage of this and what profit should we have from it?’ When he had reassured the woman’s mind to preserve the chastity of their bodies, he said to her: ‘Sit thou now in thy house, and I shall go to become a monk.’<sup>55</sup> The teachings concerning the merits of the virginal life were not restricted to the monks and the bishops. In the *vita* of Abraham, the 62nd Patriarch (975–978 A.D.), we read of a tanner, who plucked out his eye on account of his lust and the commandment of the Lord (Matthew XVIII:9).<sup>56</sup>

About Theodore of the Ennaton Monastery it is recorded that when an Arab maid exposed herself to him and forced herself on him, he took a cutting knife and cut off with it his testicles. Then he fell down as one dead, till Surûr the monk came and found him lying in this condition.

<sup>49</sup> EVETTS, B. T. A., History of the Patriarchs of the Coptic Church (HPCC), Patrologia Orientalis, I, i, p. 61.

<sup>50</sup> HPCC, Patr. Orient. I, i, p. 64.

<sup>51</sup> HPCC, Patr. Orient. I, ii, p. 239.

<sup>52</sup> HPCC, Patr. Orient. I, iii, p. 338.

<sup>53</sup> HPCC, Patr. Orient. I, iii, p. 287.

<sup>54</sup> AZIZ SURYAL ATIYA, YASSA 'ABD AL-MASIH, O. H. E. KHS-BURMESTER, History of the Patriarchs of the Egyptian Church (HPEC), Cairo, 1948, 1959, II, ii, p. 118.

<sup>55</sup> HPEC, II, ii, pp. 124–125.

<sup>56</sup> HPEC, II, ii, p. 142.

He roasted some dried cheese and placed it upon the wound till the blood ceased to flow and the monk was healed.<sup>57</sup>

These few incidents may suffice to demonstrate the serious concern with which the Copts regarded the virtue of virginity. For “those who vow celibacy, and are able to keep their vows, have a more excellent way and a more perfect holiness. For marriage is holy, but celibacy is better and holier (I Cor. VII:33,34,38).<sup>58</sup>

With respect to the constant danger of the various practices of sexual irregularities, the Coptic Church enforced the teachings of the New Testament and the Church Fathers. Homosexuality, condemned by St. Paul (Romans 1:24–27) because it was “against nature”, is strongly condemned by the Copts as illustrated in the story of the deacon of Minyati Milig, “who copulated with an effeminate man and fell with him into sin … and was subsequently punished with leprosy”.<sup>59</sup>

Practices of incest are as severely condemned by the Coptic Church as in the West. GRATIAN had stated in his canon “Adulterii malum” that the evil of adultery surpasses fornication, but is surpassed by incest.<sup>60</sup> In the Coptic tradition we hear that during the first half of the VIIIth century, an elder son of Asfant slept with his sister and tempted also his younger brother to do so. Thus the two brothers did with their sister the foul deed. And the girl became pregnant. But the earth opened her mouth and swallowed her up, and many were present and witnessed this.<sup>61</sup>

From the VIIth century onwards, the Coptic Church was repeatedly faced with the issue of holding up the Christian ideal of monogamy, for Islamic polemics often attacked the Christian position with regard to marriage. ‘Abdallâh ibn Isma’îl Hâshimî addressed himself to ‘Abd al-Masih ibn Ishâq al-Kindî (820 A.D.) pointing out to his friend the more convenient concept of marriage in Islam. For that matter, from within and from without the Church, pressures were brought to bear upon priests, bishops and patriarchs to condone the marriage practices of the majority of people in Egypt. Abraham, the 62nd Patriarch, “saw a number of the notables taking concubines and begetting children by them, and he excommunicated them for their polygamous practices”.<sup>62</sup>

<sup>57</sup> HPEC, II, iii, pp. 245–246.

<sup>58</sup> FILOTHAUS, A Catechism of the Coptic Church. London, 1892, p. 37.

<sup>59</sup> HPEC, II, ii, p. 226.

<sup>60</sup> NOONAN, J. T., op. cit., p. 174.

<sup>61</sup> HPCC, Patr. Orient., V, p. 80. Cf. Numbers XVI:30.

<sup>62</sup> HPEC, II, ii, p. 137.

And just as Abraham was poisoned by Coptic notables because of his stand against their immoralities, John XV, the 99th Patriarch (1619–1629), was conveniently removed by Coptic notables because of his insistence upon monogamy. About Mark V (1603–1619) his predecessor, it is reported that he was temporarily evicted from his patriarchal throne by the Bishop of Damietta, because the Patriarch did not tolerate polygamy. The Bishop of Damietta taught that the Old Testament practice of polygamy was not cancelled by the Gospel. The Patriarch excommunicated the heretical bishop, who approached Ča'far Pâsha, the wâli, who in return removed the Patriarch from his throne and placed another monk who favoured polygamy upon the throne. However, the Christians of Cairo and Upper Egypt remained faithful to Mark and finally succeeded in having him re-enthroned.<sup>63</sup>

These few instances illustrate the constant threat which the Coptic Church faced and still faces with respect to her strict adherence to the Christian doctrine of monogamy.

### III. The Attitudes of the Copts of the XXth Century to Contraception

The following paragraph is merely concerned with the attitudes of the Orthodox Copts towards Planned Parenthood rather than with any of the specific methods to be employed. It is on the issue of methods, that the Churches of Western Christendom are divided. The Catholic Church, which condemns the use of mechanical and chemical means of contraception, has lately permitted the use of the so-called rythm-method and temporary abstinence. In the 1930 papal encyclical *Casti connubii*, Pope Pius XI made a passing reference to couples who have intercourse, even though through natural causes either of time or of certain defects new life cannot result. Such intercourse, the Pope held, was lawful, provided the intrinsic nature of the act was preserved.<sup>64</sup> Pope Pius XII, his successor, addressed on October 29, 1951 the Italian Catholic Society of Midwives and defended in his statement the right of parents to limit or to space their children for medical, economic, eugenic or social reasons.

<sup>63</sup> STROTHMANN, R., Die Koptische Kirche in der Neuzeit. Tübingen, 1932, pp. 16–17.

<sup>64</sup> DEWART, LESLIE, *Casti Connubii and the Development of Dogma in ROBERTS, THOMAS, Contraception and Holiness*. New York, 1964, pp. 202–310.

The rythm-method was approved by the Catholic Church, because it does not directly interfere with the procreative purpose of sex, whereas any barrier placed between the sperm and the ovum frustrates the natural design of the act. The use of the rythm period, once attacked by St. Augustine when used to avoid procreation, was now fully sanctioned.

On the other hand, most Protestant Churches maintain that man has the right and the responsibility not only to engage in family planning, but also to select the most appropriate means for family planning. The basis for contraception is the premise that children have a God-given right to be well-born. If man is responsible, he must take into consideration what the birth of another person will do within the family as well as the community as a whole. In the past, men have relied on various means of contraception, which were crude and unreliable. However, there has been enormous development in the means of contraception, which have given us considerable freedom, but also responsibility to select the most appropriate way of controlling life.

Contrary to the other Christian Churches, e.g. the Catholic, the Greek Orthodox, and most Protestant denominations, the Coptic Orthodox Church has not issued so far an official pronouncement concerning her attitude towards Planned Parenthood, although it is hoped that the Pope of Alexandria may arrive at some conclusion of the issue, which could provide guidance for the Orthodox Copts to follow.

Being traditionally conservative, the majority of the Orthodox Copts consider the idea of family planning contrary to the age-old attitude that God, and only God, gives and takes life, and that, therefore, it is not for man to interfere in the mysterious workings of God. Scriptural passages are frequently quoted by Copts in defense of their attitude towards contraception. In fact, two principal arguments are most often advanced by members of the Coptic clergy and by Coptic laymen. Contraception is a violation of God's explicit commands as revealed in the Holy Scriptures, and contraception for the Copts leads to racial suicide in an ever numerically increasing Islamic society.

#### *The Religious Arguments used by Orthodox Copts against Planned Parenthood*

- a) The practice of contraception is a violation of God's command as given to Abraham: "And I will make thy seed as the dust of the earth: so that if a man can number the dust of the earth, then shall thy seed also be numbered." Genesis XIII:16.

b) And the words of the Lord to Isaac: "And I will make thy seed to multiply as the stars of heaven, and I will give unto thy seed all these countries, and in thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed." Genesis XXVI:4.

c) And the words of the Lord to Jacob: "And God said unto him, I am God Almighty: Be fruitful and multiply; a nation and a company of nations shall be of thee, and kings shall come out of thy loins." Genesis XXXV:11.

d) And the promise of the Lord to Moses: "By little and little I will drive them out from before thee, until thou be increased and inherit the land." Exodus XXIII:30.

e) And the Divine Command to Moses and Aaron, which stated that sexual intercourse should not be practised until seven days after the cessation of the menses, means, that parenthood is the only justification for sexual intercourse, because the Lord knew that this is the most fertile period of the female sexual cycle. Cf. Leviticus XV:19–30.

f) The Lord was displeased with Onan's contraceptive way when he practised *coitus interruptus* with his brother's wife. Genesis XXXVIII: 9–10.

*Arguments of Racial Suicide used by Orthodox Copts against Planned Parenthood*

a) Lack of conception in a nation is believed to be a punishment of the Lord and a sign of His anger, for remember the words of the Prophet Hosea: "For they shall eat, and not have enough; they shall commit whoredom, and shall not increase, because they have left off to take heed to the Lord." Hosea IV:10.

b) The Copts are the true descendants of the Pharaonic race, and, though at one time, we ruled all of Egypt, to-day we are a small minority. We share the problems and difficulties of every minority in the world. Should we increase our difficulties by decreasing in numbers? If we are going to encourage planned parenthood among our Coptic families, we are committing racial suicide. On the contrary, we ought to encourage early marriages with as many children as possible so as to increase our percentage and thus improve our situation.

*The Religious Arguments used by Copts for  
Planned Parenthood*

Those Copts, who favour the principle of Planned Parenthood and the use of contraceptive devices, also justify their views by citing the Holy Scriptures.

a) "God created man in his own image, breathed into his nostrils the breath of life, blessed him and told him to subdue the earth." Genesis I:28. This means, that God created man as a master of nature and not as its servant. Since the beginning, man has tried to control nature. He protected himself from the cold by wearing clothes, from the heat by living in air-conditioned homes, he irrigated the barren deserts and transformed them into gardens. Planned Parenthood is another step in this struggle. It is for man to decide whether his expression of love will be procreative or not.

b) According to the Christian ethic, marriage is not only instituted for the procreation of offspring, but marriage is ordained for the mutual help of husband and wife and for the prevention of uncleanness. The Divine Command "Be fruitful and multiply" was given several thousand years ago, when there was no problem of over-population. Moreover, when Jesus Christ came in the fulness of time (Gal. IV:4), He taught that these commands were given for the benefit of men, and that we must understand the wisdom of them, and not blindly follow them, for "the Sabbath was made for man, and not man for the Sabbath" (St. Mark II:27).

c) Jesus Christ said to his disciples: "Ye are the salt of the earth" (St. Matthew V:18). The salt constitutes a very small part of the food, but it gives flavour and taste. This shows that Jesus Christ cared more for quality than for quantity.

With respect to any particular contraceptive methods, those Copts, who were interviewed, did not specify their views. They did not restrict contraception to abstinence or the rhythm-method.

*The Opinions of Leading Copts*

The following statements represent the opinions of leading Coptic clergymen and laymen, and again the samples reveal positive as well as negative attitudes to contraception.

The Reverend Fr. M. S.: "Our Coptic Church is in direct succession from the Holy Apostles SS. Peter and Paul, and especially from St. Mark, and, therefore, no change is ever desirable, for what could be better than

the thinking of the Holy Apostles? Marriage exists solely for the procreation of children, and not for the satisfaction of sinful desires and lust. Therefore, the duty of every man and every woman is to perform the sexual act only if they desire children. If not, well, then they must practise abstinence and stay away from each other and fight against their sexual passions by prayer and adoration. As for contraception, I certainly do not approve of it as a means of fertility control. It is unhealthy, and it has harmed every person I have known, who has employed it in one way or the other. Moreover, it is contrary to God's will."

Dr. M. T.: "Certainly we do not want to teach our peasants about contraception. On the contrary, we want their numbers to increase, for they are the people, who take care of our agriculture, and without them we could not survive. These peasants have been and still are satisfied with their standard of living."

In reply, Mr. A. B. said: "This, indeed, is a very selfish point of view, for we should not live by the misfortune of others. Those poor people do not complain, because they do not know a better way of life, yet, it is our duty to teach and to enlighten them."

Dr. H. G.: "The Copts are very few in number. They are a minority in this land. We do not want Planned Parenthood, for we want to grow in numbers."

In reply, Mr. M. I. said: "But we should be interested in having healthy and educated people, rather than large numbers of sick and ignorant people."

The Reverend Fr. P. al-M.: "The opinions on the issue of contraception are divided, and I do not intend to give the answers to this problem for the whole Church. It must be remembered, however, that there is a certain degree of discrepancy between religion and nature. This does not mean that religion is contrary to nature, rather, religion elevates nature, and thus also marriage, which is a natural institution, is elevated to the status of a Holy Sacrament. The latter in turn gives nature a supernatural effectiveness. In Christian marriage, which is sanctified by God, we can observe three purposes:

1. It is instituted for the mutual help of the man and the woman.
2. It is instituted for the procreation of mankind.
3. It is instituted for the protection against human weakness and sin.

In the New Testament, virginity is shown as being superior to marriage, though not opposed to marriage. The Church does not accept

divorce for any reason, even in cases of barrenness. In principle, the Church recognizes birth-control as a means, but not as an end in itself. In order to raise man to a spiritual understanding of Holy Matrimony, the Church imposes chastity during certain days, e.g. during the periods of fasting, on the eve of feasts, before and after receiving the Sacrament of Holy Communion, as well as during certain periods, when the state of the woman demands it. During these times, the Christian should intensify his spiritual exercises, and his relationships to his partner should be limited. *Coitus interruptus* is explicitly condemned by the Holy Scriptures, and, therefore, any mechanical means of contraception must be condemned, because they are means of interruption. However, one must distinguish between the principle and the methods. Principles are laid down by the Church, while the methods can be subject to discussion. There are natural and unnatural methods of contraception. A method is accepted as long as it does not violate nature, it must be human, and it must be in accordance with the stated purpose of marriage. The methods, then, which the Church allows are those, which are natural, rather than those, which are artificial. Hence, chastity is really the only method, which should be established in the Name of God. Yet, at the same time, one must distinguish between the principles and their applications in concrete circumstances. This is the responsibility of the physician and the priest, for there are exceptions, which may require special considerations. Nevertheless, a good Christian conforms as much as possible to the principles established by the Church."

The Reverend Fr. Y. A. Y.: "Planned Parenthood is in agreement with the most recent social and national aspirations of our society, especially in view of the overwhelming population problem in our land. And if we are to survive, we must favour quality over against quantity. Naturally, one must always warn against its misuse, yet, the possibility of its misuse should not bar its use."

From the above mentioned statements we learn that there is no sense of unanimity among the Copts with respect to the issue of contraception.

In the Egyptian country-side, the various contraceptive techniques of the Copts do not differ from those employed by the Muslims, and these devices range from the insertion of a sponge soaked in a weak acid into the vagina to a wide variety of locally determined magical practices. Winifred Blackman mentions, "that on the site of a partially submerged ancient temple in Middle Egypt, which is believed to possess miraculous powers, women clamber over the stones on the edge of the pool and also

over those partially submerged hoping to prevent conception by this act. Also, if an expectant mother wishes to have no more children for a certain period, she will take the seeds of a castor-oil plant and, on the day after her child is born, she will eat one of the seeds if she wishes to be without another child for one year, two if for two years, and so on. This is believed to be invariably effective. If a woman has a spite against another woman who wishes to have a child she may secretly insert some castor-oil seeds into her food, and so render her unable to conceive.

If a woman when she gives birth to a child does not want to conceive again for some time, she takes some date-stones and covers them with some of the blood of her confinement, and then, tying them up in a rag, conceals them in a wall of her house between the bricks. The chink is then stopped up with clay. Each date-stone she thus conceals represents a year, and the number, of course, varies according to the number of years she wishes to remain without offspring.<sup>65</sup>

On the other hand, the newly established Family Planning Clinics prescribe the following devices. Most widely used, especially by the educated and emancipated women is the vaginal diaphragm and jelly. In the rural areas, vaginal foam tablets are mainly used. Since 1962, preceptine jelly and Delfin cream with applicators are introduced. Numerous experiments with oral contraceptive pills have been carried out, and since August 1964, intra-uterine contraceptive devices are widely used.

In view of the population statistics of the United Arab Republic the need for some urgent population control methods is apparent. It is important to remember, however, that in addition to the ancient and modern, natural and artificial devices socio-psychological factors are of supreme importance. Urban life, formal education, modern means of communication, expanding economic opportunities, these are the factors which will provide new aspirations, which can lead the individual to limit the size of the family. It is within this framework of a changing socio-economic matrix, that the provisions for birth-control information and application may, indeed, achieve a lower fertility.

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<sup>65</sup> BLACKMAN, WINIFRED, *The Fellahin of Upper Egypt*. London, 1927, pp. 106-108.

LADISLAV DROZDÍK

**Towards Defining the Structural Level of  
the Stem in Arabic**

**1. Preliminaries**

For a number of linguistic procedures a sufficiently exact and possibly unified definition of the basic linguistic (in our context: morphological) notions is of importance. Some of the very basic notions of the Semitic morphology as well as terms related to them, such as root, stem, base, pattern, etc., have undergone considerable changes within, at least, the last two centuries of Semitologic investigations in Europe and elsewhere, being, in some single cases, markedly influenced even by the research accomplished by that time in the field of Indo-European. As a result of a natural development, we frequently find notions, brought into use in various evolutional stages of Semitologic research work (and, which is even more important, notions successively grown out from different, mutually incommensurable taxonomic systems), used side-by-side with those generated by the newly constituted hierarchies none of which being fully statable in terms of those underlying some of the borrowed notions and related terms. A similar situation, even if being in some sense quite natural and, apart probably from a rather limited number of exact, viz. axiomatizable branches of human knowledge only, generally met with in other scientific fields as well, operates as a disturbing factor in every attempt to provide a descriptive statement of particular linguistic features.

When going through the excellent Marouzeau's Lexique,<sup>1</sup> for instance, we find the root opposed to the base (viz. in Semitology). The former being said, by the author, to be identifiable with a group of consonants while the latter, with a group of consonants accompanied with respective vowels. A similar delimitation of the above concepts, although true and

<sup>1</sup> J. MAROUZEAU, *Lexique de la terminologie linguistique*, 3<sup>e</sup> éd., Paris, 1951 (viz. the Russian translation by N. D. ANDREYEV, Moscow, 1960, pp. 140–1 (the entry "koreň" /root/)).

adequate, cannot be taken for generally recognized either from a taxonomic or terminological points of view. For the root, as a matter of evidence, apart from its abstracted, i.e. purely consonant-constituted shape, is frequently used in designing the minimum morphemic segment made up of both consonants and vowels (cf. below), equaling in this case the Marouzeau-said base, while the base, apart from the above sense is, by some investigators, used in the sense of the zero-featured morphophonemic stem alternant.<sup>1</sup>

The relation between root and base yields, with some scholars, an opposition between different structural levels, the base corresponding in this case to what it would be possible to design by the term of stem or, at least, to consider it as constituting part of the hierarchy of stem features.<sup>2</sup> With other scholars, the same morphemic segment, corresponding to the above base, is, alternatively, described in terms of root (viz., for instance, Kuryłowicz's root-said units of the type *qtul*, *qtil*, *qtal*).<sup>3</sup> The same attitude was, some decades ago, adopted by C. Brockelmann (cf. GvG, I, 286–7), under perceptible influence of the Indo-European linguistics, with, however, a simultaneous attempt to reject the notion of root at all and to substitute it by that of base (Base).<sup>4</sup>

One of the consequences of these discrepancies, as evident from the preceding, is the lack of an unambiguous, commonly accepted criterion to define the relation between root and stem, in Semitology. Since the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. H. BLANC in his review of T. F. MITCHELL's 'An Introduction to Egyptian Colloquial Arabic' in Word, 13. 535–540 (1957). BLANC speaks, here, about a base form or base "of which a vowel alternating with zero does not form part" (p. 538) such as *ħka:ya* (in /fihka:ya/, for instance) as against */ħika:ya/*. That BLANC locates the whole problem of this type of alternation on thematic level seems to be proved by the fact that, in the earlier period of his dialectological investigation, the author speaks about a "stem" (instead of the recent base) and a "stem" whose particular consonant clusters are "separated by a vowel" (viz. /kutb/-plus-/na/ = /kutibna/), instead of morphophonemic alternants related to the base (cf. H. BLANC, Studies in North Palestinian Arabic, Jerusalem 1953, pp. 74 f.). For the BLANC-conceived base cf. also CDB, 57.

<sup>2</sup> Cf., for instance, B. M. GRANDE, Kurs arabskoy grammatiki v sravnitel'no-istoričeskem osveščenii, Moscow 1963, p. 10: *maktabu*- stem of the third order, *maktab*- stem of the second order, *ktab*- stem of the first order which cannot be further divided into smaller (thematically pertinent) units, the latter being, alternatively, designed by the term "base" (baza), too.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. J. KURYŁOWICZ, L'apophonie en sémitique, Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków, 1961, p. 174, cf. also "la racine verbale" \*škur (ib., 15), etc., etc.

<sup>4</sup> Instead of the GRANDE-proposed levelling 'root-stem' (of which, at the thematic level of the 1st order the base forms part).

following statements are predominantly based on synchronic grounds without any noticeable regard to the historic background of the problem, no attention will be paid to any of the time-honored theories, elaborated by the European Semitology, which tried to prove the biliteral origin of some (with certain scholars, all)<sup>1</sup> trilateral 'stems' in Semitic.<sup>2</sup>

Unfortunately, neither is there a workable agreement in defining these universals in the very recent descriptions of particular Semitic languages (in the following we shall be concerned with Arabic only). The criterion of segmentability of a given morphological item into its minimum morphemic constituents (viz. morphemes), which is of chief importance for this purpose, did not get, in turn, any satisfactory definition so far. While D. Cohen, for instance, does not hesitate to speak about what he calls 'racine monolitère' (cf. *ḥ* in *ḥat* "sister") in Ḥassāniya Arabic,<sup>3</sup> the Georgetown-proposed taxonomy of morphological features treats biliterals as minimum segmentable units (viz. *ah*, *sana*, etc., in Iraqi Arabic, for instance).<sup>4</sup> Father Fleisch's suggestion of considering biliterals as non-segmentable wholes contrasts with both the above systems (Fleisch speaks about "37 mots, qui sont à eux-mêmes leur racine" such as *yad*, etc.).<sup>5</sup>

In the following we shall try to approach some aspects of the theory of stem in Arabic (allowedly Semitic). The proper aim of this paper is to provide morphological evidence for defining Arabic compounds at

<sup>1</sup> Viz. MAYER LAMBERT in Studien zu Ehren Alex. Kohuts, Berlin 1897, pp. 354 ff., quot. in GESENIUS, Hebr. Gr., 28th ed., p. 106, fn. 1; cf. also BROCKELMANN, GvG I, 285.

<sup>2</sup> The latter being considered as relatable to biliteral 'roots' (viz. GESENIUS' Wurzel /radix primaria, bilitteralis/, op. cit., 106. Cf. esp. PHILIPPI, Der Grundstamm des starken Verbums im Semitischen und sein Verhältnis zur Wurzel, in "Morgenländ. Forschungen", Leipzig 1875, pp. 69–106; quot. in GESENIUS, 105, fn. 1; GvG I, 285.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. D. COHEN, Le dialecte arabe ḥassāniya de Mauritanie, Paris 1963, p. 174, fn. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. W. M. ERWIN, A Short Reference Grammar of Iraqi Arabic, Georgetown University Press, Washington, D. C., 1963 (viz. § 4. Introduction to Morphology, pp. 47–61; for the quoted biliterals cf. ib., 48). Nearly the same hierarchy of basic morphological notions is used in other items of the Georgetown Arabic Research Program as well.

<sup>5</sup> H. FLEISCH, L'arabe classique. Esquisse d'une structure linguistique. Beyrouth 1956, p. 22.

the thematic level by introducing some modifications into the George-town-conceived hierarchy of stem features which proved to be the most convenient frame for the subsequent considerations.

## 2. Compound Stems in Arabic

2.1. The morphological structure of Arabic words, based in all segmentable morphological units (the limits of segmentability will not be pushed beyond the biliteral minimum) on the clearly recognizable root-and-pattern system, imposes some special restrictions upon the treatment of compounds in terms of Greenberg's criterion  $R > W$  which underlies the procedural formula  $R/W$  (where  $R$  indicating the number of roots while  $W$  that of words).<sup>1</sup> In Arabic, as evident, the root, as far as forming part of a word segmentable into a root and a pattern (both constituting a stem), never occurs independently of nonroots related to it. Nonroots, co-occurring with respective roots, are to be identified with the whole of structural features constituting a pattern or a pattern complex.<sup>2</sup> That is, in a minimum sense, with particular sets of interradical vowel morphemes related to roots (in the case of patterns) and, in a maximum sense, with these vowel morphemes occurring in combination with one or more affixes (in the case of pattern complexes). As a matter of evidence, the above statements hold only if we identify roots with *qlt*-featured abstracted units—as we really do—and not with base-featured vowel containing root-said segments.

For both practical and theoretical purposes the notion of stem is of importance for handling Arabic compounds by virtue of its representing the minimum autonomously occurring morphemic segment, including both its hierarchically inferior heterogeneous constituents, roots and patterns. Moreover, this feature is underlain, at pre-compound level, by a one-to-one relation between the number of roots (within the  $(R + P)$ -wholes) and that of stems. From this point of view, it would be even possible to suggest a substitution of the structural domain of root by that of stem, as a compound-defining factor. However, a valid sub-

<sup>1</sup> J. H. GREENBERG, "A Quantitative Approach to the Morphological Typology of Language", in IJAL, 26, 178–194 (1960).

<sup>2</sup> The substantial part of the descriptive taxonomy of the root-and-pattern features of Arabic, apart from the newly-introduced notions specifically related to compound stems, is based on that of W. M. ERWIN, op. cit., 47–61, esp. 47–54; the same is true of the terminology used.

stitution of this sort cannot be carried out for both pre-compound and compound levels of a compound generating procedure unless facing the necessity to restate the whole theory and terminology of Arabic stem in a quite untraditional way, since it is not possible to establish a one-to-one relation between the number of Arabic roots (as combined with pattern features) and that of stems at exactly the latter level of the procedure. Cf.:

TABLE 1.

Type of construction	Relation between the number of R (within the (R+P)-wholes) and that of S	Examples
Non- (or pre-) compound construction	symmetric, i.e. $(R + P) = S$	$ra's - (R + P) = S$ $māl - (R + P) = S$
Compound construction	asymmetric, i.e. $(R + P) + (R + P) = S$	$ra's-māl = S$

In order to avoid the equation  $S + S = S$ , obtainable deductively from the above data, we shall introduce a new dichotomy at the stem level, notably the distinction between (1) the non-compound stems (symbolized henceforth as S) and (2) the compound stems (rendered by the symbol  $S'$  hereafter) with the subsequent writing  $S + S = S'$ . The non-compound stems are fully statable in terms of the Georgetown taxonomy of stem. As for the second category, such thematic units will be considered as compound ones which can subsequently be analyzed into two (or, theoretically, more) non-compound stems. (Theoretically, it would be even possible to consider compound stems as, in turn, constituting other compound stems of a higher order, too. Practically, however, similar constructions seem to be of no occurrence, at least when viewed from a purely synchronic angle). While speaking, within the limits of the present study, about a more-than-one-root one-word construction, it will be identified, at the structural level of stem, with this latter category. Nevertheless, alternatively, when taking into account the newly introduced bi-partition between S and  $S'$ , the R from Greenberg's compound-defining evidence  $R > W$  can satisfactorily be replaced by S.

Although such constructions as  $ra's-māl$ ,  $'irq-sūs$ , etc. can be, in the above sense, described as monothematic ones, the feature of one-stemness of a given compound construction cannot predictively be considered

as stable as it might appear at the first glance from the above tabular statement. In fact, a number of Arabic compounds cannot be defined as such in the whole scale of their inflectional and/or derivational representations by using a unique compound-defining criterion. Naturally, this does not mean that an objection is raised against the general validity of Greenberg's R>W (or, alternatively, in the sense of the above exposition, S>S'). An attempt will be rather made to answer the question whether the sum of all possible representations of a given compound construction can predictively be considered as compound ones by virtue of the mere fact that one or more (but not all) of these representations have been ascertained as satisfying the condition R>W.

From this point of view we shall distinguish between (3) stable compound stems, and (4) non-stable compound stems. The stable compound stems being characterized by the structural stability of the stem, in the sense of compoundness, throughout the full stock of its inflectional and/or derivational representations (cf., for instance, the Egyptian Arabic '*ir'i-sūs* "licorice root", because of the exclusive occurrence of derived and inflected constructions relatable to what we call compound stems (for a further hierarchization of these stems viz. later), only, such as '*ir'i-sūs-i* "relative to (esp. seller of) *irq-sūs*", '*ir'i-sūs-īya* (plur. of the latter); similarly the Eg. Ar. '*arḍi-ḥāl*', by virtue of '*arḍi-ḥal-āt*', '*arḍi-ḥal-gi*', '*arḍi-ḥal-gīya*', etc.). The non-stable compound stems are, in the sense of the above suggestions, characterized by the lack of such a stability. The compound nature of *ra's-māl*, for instance, can unambiguously be accounted for by the following distributional features.<sup>1</sup> the definiteness marker *al-* occurring before the initial constituent of the construction: *ar-ra's-māl*; similarly the demonstratives, e.g. *hādā'r-ra's-māl*, etc.; possessive suffixes after the final constituent of the construction only, e.g. *ra's-māl-ī*, etc.; similarly the indefiniteness marker (*tanwīn*), the latter being, in the nominative, represented by -*un*; likewise the derivational suffixes do occur after the final constituent only, e.g. (*ar-*) *ra's-māl-ī*, (*ar-*)*ra's-māl-īya*, etc. But, apart from this compound series, built up by morphological means, we have another one, corresponding partially to the former, which is backed by the syntactic pattern of status constructus, i.e. *ra's māl*: the definiteness marker *al-* occurring before the final constituent of the construction, viz. *ra's al-māl* (fully

<sup>1</sup> The proofs were deliberately restricted to the morphological (viz. distributional) evidence, the latter being fully satisfactory for this purpose. For some aspects of the phonological (viz. junctural) evidence, cf. later in the text.

indentifiable with the rest of construct-type syntactic constructions, viz. *ra's al-māl hādā*; plural is rendered by two independent plural indicators each of them being covered by particular non-compound stem, cf. *ru'ūs (al-)amwāl*.

Furthermore, in accordance with the above statements and the Georgetown-proposed basic stem hierarchy,<sup>1</sup> we believe it is possible to work out further extensions of the latter in order to make it fully appropriate for the treatment of compounds too, by introducing the following notions: (5) simple compound stem, that is a compound stem which, by applying Erwin's definition of simple stems to the latter, "cannot be further analyzed into /in our case: compound/ stem and affix" (cf. fn. 1 above), and (6) complex compound stem, i.e. a compound stem which consists, when modifying Erwin's definition of complex stems, "of a /in our case: compound/ stem plus one or more affixes and to which, as a whole, other affixes are or may be attached" (cf. ib.).

In order to illustrate the newly-introduced notions, stems like *ra's-māl*, '*irq-sūs*' and even *qā'im-maqām*,<sup>2</sup> etc. can account for the (5), while *ra's-māl-i*, *ra's-māl-īya*, '*irq-sūs-i*' ("relative to '*irq-sūs*'") or the Egyptian Arabic '*ir'i-sūs-i*' ("producer and seller of '*irq-sūs*'") or the plural form of the latter: '*ir'i-sūs-īya*', etc. (the hyphenating is, as evident, purely conventional and serves uniquely illustrative purposes so far)—can be related to the (6).

2.2. Apart from this, there is another important factor pertinent to the description of compound stems, the allomorphic alternation. In view of the fact that this type of alternation emerges at non-compound stem constituent boundaries of a number of compound stems, we shall consider it as a junctural feature. Further, since the very notion of stem implies, in the minimum case,<sup>3</sup> the co-occurrence of two distinct morphemic constituents, that is roots and respective patterns, every

<sup>1</sup> Cf. W. M. ERWIN, 47.

<sup>2</sup> It should be noted that a possible coincidence of single S-constituents of a given S'-stem with what ERWIN calls complex stems will be considered irrelevant to the above definition. That is to say, constructions like *qā'im-maqām*, for instance, will be treated as simple compound ones regardless of the fact that, in this case, the final S-constituent may be identified with ERWIN-defined complex stems. Further, the possible interpretation of the definite article *al-* in terms of affixes will be, in this context, considered as irrelevant, too.

<sup>3</sup> That is, when disregarding the possible occurrence of affixes within what ERWIN calls complex stems and when excluding the ERWIN-said solid stems out of consideration, too.

particular case of an allomorphic alternation should necessarily be conceived as a bi-morphemic one because of its extending over two different morphemic segments corresponding, in turn, to two different morphemes classes (this statement holds, once again, only if we identify roots exclusively with the *ql*-featured consonant segments).

This type of allomorphic alternation very frequently involves:

(a) CC/C, e.g. *mā' ward* / *māward* (Siggel, 66); *qā'im-maqām* / *qā'i-maqām*, etc.

(b) CCC/CC, e.g. *ra's māl* (or *ra's-māl* /the non-hyphenated writing indicating the syntactic character of the construction, in this case, as against the hyphenated one/) / *ras-māl*, etc.

(c) CCC/CCVC (where V corresponding to a cluster-preventing vowel, possibly due to the dialectal influence and/or to the case ending relic of the underlying syntactic construction at pre-compound level), e.g. *'ard hāl* (i.e. construct-state pattern) / *'arduhāl* (Wehr, Belot; the latter in Arabic character only), *'ard-i hāl<sup>1</sup>* (Wahrmund, the writing as well as the hyphenating is that of the quoted author). The V in the Egyptian Arabic *'ardihāl* has a clear cluster-preventing function.

As evident from the above listing of the involved features (which does not claim to be exhaustive) it is possible to distinguish between two basic types of alternation: (1) alternation which cannot be defined but with simultaneous reference to both non-compound and compound stems (i.e. at the pre-compound and compound levels of a compound-generating procedure) and (2) alternation definable already with reference to compound stems only (i.e. at the very compound level of the procedure).

As for the first type, it can be illustrated by the following examples: *mā'* within the non-compound construction *mā'* (*al-*)*ward* as alternating with *mā-*, the latter, and only the latter, occurring exclusively while forming part of a compound stem, viz. *mā-ward*. Similarly: *habb* vs. *hab-* in *hab-qurr* (cf. Fleisch, op.cit., 124); *barr* vs. *bar-* in *bar-mā'i* "amphibious", etc.

The second type makes it possible to state the alternation within compound stems themselves, e.g. *ra's-/ras-*, both alternating while constituting part of a compound stem, viz. *ra's-māl* / *ras-māl* (for some special restrictions imposed upon the possibility of describing rasmāl and its derivates in terms of compound stems cf. 2.3 below). Similarly: *qā'im-/qā'i-* in *qā'im-maqām* / *qā'i-maqām* (in the last case the hyphenat-

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<sup>1</sup> Besides the last form, WAHRMUND quotes *'ardhāl* as well.

ing is rather impressionistic, an alternative segmenting being substantially possible as well, notably *qā'im-aqām*, with subsequently transferring the sphere of alternation to the final constituent of the compound stem), etc.

2.3. However, the problem of the allomorphic alternation is, in turn, further complicated by the whole of structural features pertaining to what is commonly designed as internal flexion in Semitic. A feature similar, in some respects, to that of structural stability, as established relatively to compound stems in 2.1, is to be taken into account when dealing with allomorphic alternants of a given compound stem, too. As it will turn obvious from the following considerations, it is not always easy to say what an allomorphic alternant within the above specified constructional units is. Cf.:

TABLE 2.

<i>ra's-</i> vs. <i>ra's-</i> can be described in terms of an allomorphic alternation	( <i>ra's-</i> ) <sup>1</sup> vs. <i>ras-</i> <sup>2</sup> cannot be described in these terms
<i>ra's-māl/ras-māl</i>	( <i>ra's-</i> ) vs. <i>ras-</i> in:
<i>ra's-māl-i/ras-māl-i</i>	<i>rasāmil</i> "plur. of <i>rasmāl</i> "
<i>ra's-māl-iya/ras-māl-iya</i>	<i>rasmal</i> "to capitalize"
etc.                   etc.	<i>rasmala</i> "capitalization" <sup>3</sup> , etc.

As obvious from the above parallel, the limits of the allomorphic alternation within a given (here: compound) construction cannot be defined abstractedly from the very feature of compoundness of the latter. It is, therefore, hardly possible to determine in an absolute way neither whether *rasmāl*,<sup>4</sup> in this case, is a compound construction nor wheth-

<sup>1</sup> The bracketing indicates, here, the impossibility of setting a direct parallel between the *ra's-* and *ras-* featured items.

<sup>2</sup> Since *ras-*, in this case, cannot be recognized as an autonomous thematic unit (in view of the root *rsml*, in this case), the hyphen, unlike the convention followed in this paper, does not imply a possible segmentation along the S-featured thematic units.

<sup>3</sup> Cf., e.g. *rasmalat al-fawā'id* "capitalisation des intérêts" (Mağmū'at al-muṣṭalahāt, vol. 1, 12, Cairo, Academy of Arabic Language, 1957).

<sup>4</sup> The hyphenating as implying the segmentation of a given S' into its S-levelled constituents, in accordance with the convention followed, was here deliberately omitted without, however, considering this omission as significant, i.e. as a priori signaling the lack of compoundness of the construction under consideration (for the symbol (—) see fn. 1 on the following page).

er *ras-* (hyphen with “*ras*” does not necessarily imply a possible segmentation along the S-featured thematic units, in this case) is relatable to *ra's-* as an allomorphic alternant or not. With reference to *ras-māl-i*, *ras-māl-iya*, for instance, as alternating with *ra's-māl-i*, *ra's-māl-iya*, one can doubt neither the compound nature of the latter nor the relation between *ras-* and *ra's-* as that of allomorphic alternants (which, subsequently, implies a hyphenated writing *ras-māl*, etc. in accordance with the convention established in this study). On the other hand, however, as soon as related to *rasāmil*, *rasmal*, *rasmala*, *murasmal*, etc., the answer will decidedly be negative in both cases (with a simultaneous non-hyphenated writing).

In order to account for the above situation we esteem possible to introduce, at the stem level of the description, the notion of thematic valency, yielding, subsequently, a dichotomic division between (1) ambivalent and, say, (2) univalent stems, the former being potentially identifiable both with compound and non-compound stems, the latter either with compound or non-compound ones. Cf.:

TABLE 3.

Ambivalent stems		Univalent stems	
Non-compound	Compound	Non-compound	Compound
e.g. <i>ras(-)māl</i> <sup>1</sup>		<i>rasmāl</i> <sup>2</sup>	<i>ras-māl</i> <sup>2</sup>
(because of its being identifiable with)		<i>rasāmil</i>	<i>ras-māl-i</i>
<i>rasmāl</i> <sup>2</sup>	<i>ras-māl</i> <sup>2</sup>	<i>rasmal</i>	<i>ras-māl-iya</i>
(viz. univalent stems)	(viz. <i>ibid.</i> )	<i>rasmala</i>	etc. <sup>4</sup>
		<i>murasmal</i> <sup>3</sup>	
		etc.	

The notion of thematic valency, as evident, does not fully coincide with what we design by the term structural (or, at the level predomi-

<sup>1</sup> The feature of what we call thematic ambivalence will be marked by the symbol (—) henceforth.

<sup>2</sup> The feature of thematic univalence will be hereafter consistently indicated by hyphenating (compound) and non-hyphenating (non-compound).

<sup>3</sup> All these words are, as evident, constituted by a unique (quadrilateral) root *r-s-m-l* and a unique pattern, related to each of these particular stem realizations.

<sup>4</sup> I.e., as alternating with *ra's-māl* (-i, -iya, etc.), the latter being, in turn, fully identifiable with univalent (compound) stems.

nantly referred to in this study, rather thematic) stability. The former starts from considering a given stem as either  $S \cap S'$  or  $S \cup S'$  and is defined with reference to exactly this, and only this stem. The latter starts from recognizing a given stem as  $S'$  with reference to itself with, at the same time, scrutinizing the stability of this stem in the sense of  $S'$  with reference to the sum of its inflectional and/or derivational representations. Both notions, taken as wholes, are therefore incommensurable with each other. Nevertheless, it is at least possible to establish some minor interdependences between some of the respective sub-categories derived from them. Cf.:

*ras-māl*: univalent  $S'$  because of its being identifiable with  $S'$ -stems only (by virtue of recognizing the relation of allomorphic alternation between *ras-/ra's*); stable  $S'$  since it retains its status of  $S'$  through all its inflectional and/or derivational representations (it is to be noted that, in accordance with the classification proposed in this paper, the intro-flectionally controlled  $S$ -featured stems of the type *rasāmīl*, *rasmala*, etc. should be related to *rasmāl*);

*ra's-māl*: univalent, i.e. always  $S'$  with reference to itself, but non-stable relatively to the sum of its inflectional and/or derivational representations (viz. *ru'ūs amwāl*);

*ras(-)māl*: ambivalent stem because of its being potentially identifiable both with  $S$ - (viz. *rasmāl*) and  $S'$ -stems (viz. *ras-māl*); incommensurable with stems classified according to the feature of stability;

*rasmāl*: univalent  $S$ -stem, as such incommensurable with stems classified along the feature of stability (viz. stable  $S'$ -stems vs. non-stable  $S'$ -stems). It is worthwhile noting that it is exactly in this category that the bulk of the Arabic *naht*-said items, as delimited by Arab scholars, is to be located.

(For a full-scale statement of Arabic compounds, due to the present author, cf. "Compounding as a Second-Order Word-formational Procedure in Modern Written Arabic", to appear in Asian and African Studies, III, SAV, Bratislava, 1967.)

## ALEXANDER SCHEIBER

### Von zwei mittelalterlichen Darstellungen des Juden

#### I.

B. BLUMENKRANZ schreibt in seinem neuen Buche: „Für einen verhältnismässig häufig künstlerisch formulierten Beweisgrund kennen wir kein literarisches Vorbild. Es ist dies die Darstellung vom Juden, der an den Eutern einer Sau saugt, wovon man hier ein Beispiel in Form eines Säulenkapitells aus Upsala vom Ende des 13. oder Anfang des 14. Jahrhunderts sieht... Diese Spottfigur will die Juden in ihrer Enthaltsamkeit vom Schweinefleisch verhöhnen.“<sup>1</sup>

Das Thema kommt in der Kunst häufig vor<sup>2</sup>. Es ist nicht nötig, die Parallelen zu vermehren.

Sollten sich wirklich keine Spuren davon in der Literatur vorfinden?

In dem Fastnachtspiel „Ein Spil von dem Herzogen von Burgund“ (XV. Jahrh.) werden die Juden mit der Strafe belegt, aus einem Schweine zu saugen.

Ich sprich, das man vor allem ding  
Die allergrost schweinsmuter pring,  
Darunter sie sich schmiegen all,  
Saug ieder ein tutten mit schall;  
Der Messias lig unter dem schwantz!  
Was ir enpfall, das sol er ganz  
Zusammen in ein secklein pinden  
Und dann dasselb zu einem mal verschlinden<sup>3</sup>.

D. KAUFMANN befasste sich eingehend mit dem Erscheinen dieses

<sup>1</sup> B. BLUMENKRANZ, Juden und Judentum in der mittelalterlichen Kunst, Stuttgart 1965, p. 42; auch französisch erschienen: *Le Juif médiéval au miroir de l'art chrétien*, Paris 1966.

<sup>2</sup> W. MOLSDORF, Christliche Symbolik der mittelalterlichen Kunst, Leipzig 1926, p. 183, No. 1017; M. LOWENTHAL, The Jews of Germany, Philadelphia 1944, pp. 97–98.

<sup>3</sup> H. A. KELLER, Fastnachtspiele aus dem fünfzehnten Jahrhundert, I, Stuttgart 1853, p. 184; O. FRANKL, Der Jude in den deutschen Dichtungen des 15., 16. und 17. Jahrhundertes, Mähr.-Ostrau–Leipzig 1905, pp. 30, 49; H. PFLAUM, Les scènes de juifs dans la littérature dramatique du moyen âge. REJ, LXXXIX, 1930, pp. 132–133; G. K. ANDERSON, The Legend of the Wandering Jew, Providence 1965, p. 39.



Fig. 1. Säulenkapitell aus Uppsala.

Spottbilden in der Kunst und damit, wie sich eine seiner Darstellungen, die „Sau von Wittenberg“ im Schrifttum spiegelt, vom deutschen Laurentius Fabricius (1596) angefangen bis zum französischen Pierre de l'Ancre (1622). Er erklärt es — nicht ganz befriedigend — folgenderweise: „Die in ihrer Hartnäckigkeit verharrende Synagoge sollte also in den die Milch des Schweines saugenden grossen und kleinen Juden verhöhnt werden.“<sup>4</sup>

## II.

In Bratislava (Pozsony) ist auf dem mittelalterlichen Turme der Franziskaner als Wasserspeier ein mit einem Gürtel versehener, mit einem Kaftan bekleideter, auf einem Schweine reitender Jude zu sehen<sup>5</sup>. Diese Judendarstellung ist auch später nicht selten<sup>6</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> D. KAUFMANN, La truie de Wittenberg. REJ, XX, 1890, pp. 269–274; Gesammelte Schriften, I, Frankfurt a. M. 1908, pp. 161–168. Vgl. noch J. TRACHTENBERG, The Devil and the Jews, New Haven 1945, pp. 26, 47, 218.

<sup>5</sup> R. ORTVAY, Pozsony város története, II/2, Pozsony 1898, p. 285; S. WEINGARTEN, History of the Jews of Bratislava (Pressburg), Jerusalem 1960, p. 9.

<sup>6</sup> E. FUCHS, Die Juden in der Karikatur, München 1921, pp. 13, 19, 21, 31, 38.

# Der Jüden Ehrbarkeit.

Ach siehstu der Jüden Tanz/  
 Ir Gottes Leistung vnd Sianz/  
 Wie sie den Son Gotts verspeyen/  
 All Christen vermaledeyen.  
 Darzu all Christlich Oberkeit/  
 Weile nicht gerhet so iſt in leib.  
 Auch ir gewolche Wucherey/  
 Doch sind sie bey alln Herren frey.  
 Herrache doch solchs du fromer Christ/  
 Du seyst gleich hoch / odr wer du bist.  
 Las dir das Buch zu hergarten/  
 Gott wird dir jeden gebn sein lohn.



ANNO. M. D. LXXI

Fig. 2. Titelblatt der satirischen Spottschrift „Der Juden Ehrbarkeit“.

Auch diese hat ihre literarische Spur hinterlassen. Punkt 9 der Rechnitzer „Juden-Polizei“ (1732) enthält eine Sanktion für diejenigen, die sich mit ihrem Einfluss rühmen und ihre Gegner einschüchtern. Diese werden mit einer Geldstrafe belegt und „die Schuldigen werden auch die Sau reiten müssen.“<sup>7</sup>

Aus der Praxis ist somit eine künstlerische Darstellung geworden und daraus hat sich später eine Redewendung gebildet.

<sup>7</sup> B. BERNSTEIN, Magyar Zsidó Szemle, XXX, 1913, p. 184.

**Turcia****1. *kara* „schwarz, dunkel“**

Das reichstürkische *kara* bedeutet bekanntlich sowohl „schwarz, dunkel, finster“ als auch „Land, festes Land, Kontinent“; die alttürkische Entsprechung ist *qara* „schwarz, finster“ und „Volk“. Die besondere Frage, ob es sich hier um zwei verschiedene, homonyme Wörter oder um ein einziges Wort handelt, wird uns hier nicht in erster Linie beschäftigen. Was wir suchen, ist zunächst das Etymon von *kara* „schwarz“. Dabei wollen wir von einer semitischen Etymologie ausgehen, die einen Bedeutungswandel „mischen, kneten“ > „tun, machen“ bzw. > „Abend, Nachtdunkel“ (im Sinne von dem Zeitpunkt, wo sich das Licht des Tages mit dem Dunkel der Nacht vermischt) zur Voraussetzung hat. Das altebräische ‘āšā „machen, tun“<sup>1</sup> scheint nämlich einst „kneten, pressen, mischen, umrühren“ (vom Teige) bedeutet zu haben, vgl. noch späteres ‘iśšā, ‘issā „(zusammen)pressen, zwingen“<sup>2</sup>. Im Akkadischen bedeutet aber ešū „verwirrt, dunkel“, eši „ist, war verwirrt, dunkel“, und im Arabischen ist ‘iśā- „Abend“, ‘ašwat- „Nachtdunkel“. In ähnlicher Weise lässt sich auch *kara* „schwarz“ mit der Wurzel *kar-* zusammenbringen, die wir in *karmak* u. a. „durchmischen“ vorfinden, vgl. *karma* „gemischt, vermischt“, *karişmak* „sich mischen, vermengen“, alttürk. *qarıl-* „sich vermischen“. BROCKELMANN betrachtet zwar *qara* „schwarz“ als eine „reine Stammform“ (Osttürkische Grammatik, 1954, S. 85c und S. 86), aber das Wort lässt sich ebenfalls als *qar-a* verstehen, wobei -a also ein sog. Formans darstellt. Wenn die Zusammenstellung mit *kar-* „mischen“ zutrifft, wird somit *kara* „schwarz“ als ein ursprüngliches *kar-a* „vermischt, verwirrt“ > „dunkel, undeutlich, schwarz“ aufzufassen sein, vgl. auch eine Bildung wie *qaraldu*, „undeutliche Er-

<sup>1</sup> Nach KOEHLER-BAUMGARTNER, Lexicon in Veteris Testamenti libros (1953), S. 739b, zu urteilen ist die Etymologie umstritten.

<sup>2</sup> Vgl. BROCKELMANN, ZDMG 74/1920, S. 215 und unten S. 112.

scheinung“, heute *karaltı* „dunkle Gestalt“ sowie *qaraltyu* „Vogelscheuche“ (BROCKELMANN, Osttürkische Grammatik S. 99 § 43b). Wenn unser *kara* mit dem obenerwähnten *kara* „Land“, *qara* „Volk“ (vgl. osman. *el* „Land, Menschen“) etymologisch identisch ist, kann jedenfalls die Bedeutung „Volk“ sowohl von *kar-* „mischen“ (*kar-a* etwa „Gemisch“) als auch von *kara* „schwarz“ ausgehen, vgl. arab. *sawād-* „eine Menge von Menschen“.

## 2. *el gün* „alle Menschen“

Im Reichstürkischen bedeutet *gün* „Tag“ und gelegentlich auch „Sonne“ = *güneş*, alttürk. *künäš*. In der Verbindung *el gün* hat aber das Wort diese Bedeutung nicht mehr, und es erhebt sich die Frage, ob wir es auch hier (vgl. oben) mit zwei verschiedenen, homonymen Wörtern oder mit demselben Wort *gün* „Tag“ zu tun haben. Man sagt z. B. *ele güne karşı böyle hareket edilir mi?* „Benimmt man sich so vor allen Menschen?“ mit der Nebenbedeutung von „anderen, fremden Menschen“, und so übersetzt z. B. H. C. HONY *ele güne karşı* durch „in the presence of others, before all“ (A Turkish-English Dictionary, 1947, S. 91b). Das Wort *el* bedeutet an sich einerseits „Land, Provinz“, andererseits auch „Menschen, Welt“. Aus dem Begriff „Menschen, Welt“ hat sich die Bedeutung „andere, fremde“ entwickelt, und so heisst *el oğlu* „der Fremde“, eigentlich „Sohn der Menschen“, vgl. malayisches *oran* „Mensch“, aber *anak oran* „Kind eines anderen“, *nēgēri oran* „fremde, andere Länder“, slov. *ljudski* „fremd, ausländisch“, zu *ljudje* „Volk“ usw. (vgl. M. MAYRHOFER, ZDMG 104/1954 S. 269); auch das arab. *qawm-* „Volk“ kann bekanntlich ähnliche Nuancen annehmen. Etwas komplizierter ist ein Ausdruck wie *el álem*, auch *elâlem* geschrieben, „die anderen Leute, die fremden Leute“, „die ganze Welt“ gegenüber einfachem *álem* „Welt, Universum“. Vom etymologischen Standpunkt aus liegt hier eine Art Synonymkompositum vor, wie sie sich in bilinguischen Kreisen bisweilen entwickeln kann. So finden sich im Mitteltürkischen Typen wie *tüb aṣl* „Fundament“, *boş əzād* „frei“, *yätim öksüz*<sup>3</sup> „Waise“ usw. (BROCKELMANN, Osttürkische Grammatik, S. 145c). Die Bezeichnung „Synonymkompositum“ ist jedoch eine nur ganz oberflächliche. Genau besehen gibt es überhaupt keine Synonyme, aber auch nicht „Übersetzungskompositum“ scheint hier das Richtige

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<sup>3</sup> Zum alttürk. *ög* „Mutter“.

zu treffen; die in Frage stehenden Ausdrücke sollten genauer untersucht werden. Wie dem auch sein mag, unser *el gün* besteht aus zwei echt-türkischen Bestandteilen, und es hat auch in *il kün* seine mitteltürkische Entsprechung, vgl. BROCKELMANN, Osttürkische Grammatik, S. 144a; G. J. RAMSTEDT, Einführung in die altaische Sprachwissenschaft I (1957), S. 68. Der Darstellung Brockelmanns zufolge wären also hier *il* und *kün* als Synonyme zu betrachten, weshalb auch ein türkisches Wort *kün* „Volk“ anzusetzen wäre. Tatsächlich hat auch A. VON GABAIN für die alttürkische Mehrzahlpartikel *-kün*, *-gün* die Grundbedeutung „Volk“ erschlossen (Alttürkische Grammatik, 2. Aufl., 1950, S. 317b); auch HÜSEYIN KÂZÎM KADRI betrachtet *gün* in *el gün* als „*edat*“ (Türk lûgati IV/1945, S. 215a)<sup>4</sup>.

In dem anonymen Werk *at-Tuhfa az-zakiya fi l-luğâ at-Turkiya* Blatt 24b, Z. 3 (ed. B. ATALAY, 1945) lesen wir nun: عالم ايلى كون و باسلطان كون عالم باباس 'ālam: *il kün wa-bi-'isqāṭi kün; 'ālim:papas*, vgl. ATALAYS Ausgabe, S. 46. Also: nicht nur *il kün*, sondern auch *il* allein bezeichnet 'ālam. Das arab. 'ālam bedeutet „Welt“, im Persischen auch „die in der Welt lebenden Wesen“ und somit auch „Menschen“, vgl. arab. 'ālamūna „(die) Menschen“. Im Ägyptisch-Arabischen bedeutet 'ālam neben „Welt“ auch „Leute, Menschenmenge, Publikum“ (S. SPIRO BEY, Arabic-English Dictionary of the Modern Arabic of Egypt, 2. Aufl., 1923, S. 285b), und die letzterwähnte Bedeutung ist in der Tat ziemlich alt, vgl. R. DOZY, Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes II/1927, S. 164b<sup>5</sup>. Schon während des Mittelalters erhielt das französische *monde* den Sinn von „Leute“, besonders in der Redensart *tout le monde*, und in diesem Sinne ist auch das 'ālam der *Tuhfa* zu verstehen. Wenn nun aber *il* eigentlich „Land“ bedeutete und *kün* „Leute, Menschen“, liesse sich *il+kün* „Land+„Menschen“ zunächst als ein Ausdruck *per merismum* für „Welt“ begreifen, woraus sich dann sekundär die Bedeutung „Leute, Volk, Menschen“ ergeben hätte. Soweit uns bekannt ist, lässt sich jedoch kein selbständiges Wort *kün~gün* im Sinne von „Leute, Menschen,

<sup>4</sup> HEUSER-SEVKET, Türkisch-deutsches Wörterbuch, 5. Aufl. (1962), S. 163b fasst *edat* als „Partikel“ auf. B. ATALAY, Türk dilinde ekler ve kökler üzerine bir deneme (Istanbul 1942), S. 6, hat *ek* = affixe, *edat* = désinence.

<sup>5</sup> Vgl. Kalîla wa Dimna (ed. L. CHEIKHO, 1950), S. 139: *za'amû'anna madînatân kânat tu'dâ Bûrâxşata daxalahâ l'adîwu marratan fa qatalû mimman kâna fihâ 'âlamân wa sabaw nisâ'ahum; Ibn Šaraf al-Qayrawâni, Masa'il al-'intiqâd* (ed. CH. PELLAT, 1953), S. 66: *wa qad 'alima huwa wa 'alima l'âlamu hattâ lbahâ'imi/u.*

Volk“ belegen, und VON GABAIN nimmt das oben erwähnte *-kün*, *-gün* bzw. *qun*, *-yun* als einen Mehrzahlsexponenten nur mit einem „?“ auf, vgl. Alttürkische Grammatik, S. 60 § 50; der hier mitgeteilte Vergleich mit mongol. *gu'un* „Mensch“ dürfte kaum als gesichert gelten können. Wie nun z. B. eine Form wie *inijigünüm* „meine jüngeren Brüder“ auch zu analysieren sein mag (a. a. O.)<sup>6</sup>, eine Bedeutung „Volk“ für *kün* scheint im Türkischen nur sekundär sein zu können. Denn dieses *il kün* „Volk“ dürfte letztlich mit *kün* „Sonne, Tag“ identisch sein. Wenn nämlich das kopulative Kompositum *il kün* erst über „Welt“ zur Bedeutung „Menschen, Leute, Volk“ gelangt ist, lässt sich eben der Begriff der universalen Welt unschwer auf *il* „Land, Erde“ + *kün* „Himmelslicht“ zurückführen, vgl. ein alttürk. Kompositum wie *ät'öz* „Körper, Person“ aus *ät* „Fleisch“ + *öz* „Leben, Wesen“ (od. dgl.); auch das Armenische kennt solche Komposita.

### 3. *basruq* „Pferdedecke“

Bei 'ALİ ŞİR NAWĀ'İ, Muḥākamat al-luğatayn, S. 75 (ed. İŞİTMAN) steht folgendes zu lesen: „Bir müteayyen nime kim ak öydur, anğa *hargâh* at koyupturlar; amma anıñg eczasınıñg körini Türk tili bile ayturlar. Andak ki *tünglük* ve *özük* ve *torlug* ve *basrug* ve *çığ* ve *kanat* ve *közenek* ve *ug* ve *bagış* ve *busaga* ve *irkene* ve alâ hazelkiyas.“ Während also das Zelt selbst mit dem persischen Wort *hargâh* (*xargâh*) benannt wird, gebraucht man für die verschiedenen Teile des Zeltes türkische Wörter. Von diesen interessiert uns hier nur *basrug*, das İŞİTMAN als „bir şeyi bastırmak için kullanılan sıriç, sürgü, tırkaz“ erklärt (S. 161)<sup>7</sup>. Es handelt sich dabei um dasselbe Wort, das W. RADLOFF als *bāsrūy=basruy* „die Stützestange des Zeltes (während des Sturmes)“ aufnimmt (Versuch eines Wörterbuches der Türkdialecte IV/1960, Kol. 1536). BROCKELMANN bucht nun ein *basruq* bei Nawā'İ 83,1, das er durch „Pferdedecke“ wiedergibt und das er als aus *basturuq* verkürzt betrachtet (Ost-türkische Grammatik, S. 100 § 46). S. 135 § 85 erscheint — allerdings mit einer anderen Erklärung — wieder dieses *basruq*, und zwar im Sinne von „Schwere“, „Deckel“, „Pferdedecke“. Es scheint sich hier jedoch um verschiedene Wörter zu handeln. Radloff verzeichnet ein *basrik* „Filzdecke für die Pferde“, *bastırık*, *basturuk* „der Überzug des Pelzes“ (a. a. O., IV, Kol. 1535. 1537. 1539). Die Bedeutung „Pferdedecke“

<sup>6</sup> Vgl. Verf., Oriens 15/1962, S. 325 ff.

<sup>7</sup> Ali Şir Nevâî, Muḥakemet-ül-lûgatayn. Şimdi dile çeviren I. R. İŞİTMAN, Ankara 1941.

lässt sich kaum gut zu *bas-* bzw. *bastır-* „drücken“ stellen. Als ein iranisches Lehnwort kann aber *basruk*, *basturuk* an Hand einer Gruppe von nunmehr wohlbekannten Wörtern erhellt werden. Das Neopersische kennt ein *bistarāk* „a small bolster or pillow“ (F. STEINGASS, Persian-English Dictionary, 1947, S. 185b), ein Diminutiv von *bistar* „a bed, mattress, bolster, pillow, cushion“ (a. a. O., S. 186a). Auch als ein persisches Lehnwort in der älteren osmanischen Litteratur scheint *bister-pister* nur den Sinn von „Matratze, Teppich“ und dgl. zu haben, so z. B. noch bei dem 1934 verstorbenen Cenap Şahabettin in seinem Herbstlied V. 87–89: *Senenin cismi muhtazır gibidir / Şu mesâfat-ı bînihâyette / Bister-i vâsi-i tabîatte* „Der Körper des Jahres ist wie mit dem Tode ringend / In diesen unendlichen Entfernungen / Auf dem weiten Teppich der Natur“ (Türk klasikleri 17/1953, S. 36, ed. H. DİZDAROĞLU).

Besondere Aufmerksamkeit fordert hier das Jüdisch-Aramäische. Im Targum Yerûšalmî I zu Deuteronomium 34,6 ist von einem Bett, das *mytqn' bbystrqy mylt* war, die Rede, d. h. es war mit wollenen Polstern zubereitet (ausgerüstet); man liest das Wort als *bistargē* aus und übersetzt es durch „Polster, Teppiche“, vgl. J. LEVY, Chaldäisches Wörterbuch, 3. Ausg. (1959), S. 104b; derselbe, Neuhebräisches und chaldäisches Wörterbuch über die Talmudim und Midraschim, 2. Aufl. I/1924, S. 246a; G. DALMAN, Aramäisch-neuhebräisches Handwörterbuch, 3. Aufl. (1938), S. 60a. Im Bâbâ qammâ 117a kommt das Wort dreimal vor: *rby ywħnn hwh ytyb 'šb' bstrqy šlp̄y lyh ḥd' bstrq' mtwtyh 'mr šm'tt' w'šqy lyh 'd dslpy lyh kwlhw bstrqy mtwtyh 'd dytyb 'l 'r* (Der babylonische Talmud, ed. L. GOLDSCHMIDT VI/1933, S. 443) „Rabbi Yôhānân sass auf sieben Teppichen. Man zog einen Teppich unter ihm weg; er trug eine Lehre vor, und jener erhob Einspruch gegen ihn, bis man alle Teppiche unter ihm weggezogen hatte, bis er auf der Erde sass.“ Hier begegnet uns neben *bstrqy* auch der Sing. אַבְשָׁרָב, das an sich auch *bastarqā* gelesen werden könnte, eine Aussprache, für die es jedoch keine Gewähr zu geben scheint. Ta'anît 21b kommt wieder die Form mit *bis-* vor: *wmk lhw bystrqy* „er breitete ihnen Polster aus“ (M. Margolis, Lehrbuch der aramäischen Sprache des babylonischen Talmuds, 1910, S. 60\*). Eine bemerkenswerte Stelle ist Bâbâ bâtərâ 58a: *'tw lqmyh drb bn'h 'mr lhw: 'yt lk̄w 'r? ?mry lyh: 'yn. 'yt lk̄w ḥyw' ?yn. 'yt lk̄w bstrqy? 'yn. 'y hky hky q'mr lk̄w<sup>8</sup>* (Der babylonische Talmud VI, S. 1093.) „Sie

<sup>8</sup> Für *q'mr* siehe Verf., Erneuerung des Verbalaspekts im Semitischen (1963), S. 81–82.

kamen zu Rabbi Bannā'ā. Er sagte zu ihnen: Habt ihr Grundbesitz ('ar'ā)? Sie sagten zu ihm: Jawohl. Habt ihr Vieh (*ḥēwətā*)? Jawohl. Habt ihr *bstrqy*? Jawohl. Wenn so, sagt er euch so.“ Hier entspricht das Wort *bstrqy* den folgenden Worten, die unserem Abschnitt vorangehen: *ḥby' d'wdd' lhd br'y*, was GOLDSCHMIDT durch „meinem dritten Sohn ein Fass mit Werg“ wiedergibt (S. 1093); es ist wohl mit der Variante 'wdd' und nicht 'wdr' zu lesen. An dieser Stelle übersetzt GOLDSCHMIDT *bstrqy* mit „Garderobe“. Wenn diese Übersetzung zutrifft und nicht etwa durch *bästəyār* „Garderobenmeister“ beeinflusst worden ist, haben wir es hier mit einer Bedeutung „Kleider“ zu tun, die für die iranische Etymologie nicht ohne Bedeutung ist.

H. L. FLEISCHER stellte nun unser *bstrqy* mit dem neupersischen *pistar-bistar* zusammen (bei LEVY, Chaldäisches Wörterbuch, S. 104b, vgl. das vierbändige Werk LEVYS I, S. 246a), und hierzu stellte auch BROCKELMANN Bar Bahlūl *bstrq* „pars ornamenti sponsae“ (Lexicon Syriacum 82b), vgl. auch *bstrhng* „perimentum, tegumentum“, das dem neupers. *bistar-āhang* „a coverlet, a sheet“ (Steingass) entspricht; das Mandäische hat *bastirqā*, gelegentlich auch *bistirqā* „a woollen robe, cushion, pillow, couch, mattress of carded wool“ (DROWER-MACUCH, A Mandaic Dictionary, 1963, S. 49a und S. 62a).

Damit stehen wir aber vor einem iranistischen Problem, das hier nicht gelöst werden kann. Das aram. *bstrq*, richtiger *bstrq'*, da hier kein Status abs. belegt zu sein scheint, stellte schon FR. SPIEGEL zu mitteliran. „wstrq“, wozu LAGARDE mand. *bastirqā* hinzufügte (Gesammelte Abhandlungen, 1866, S. 23). Lagarde rechnete somit hier mit einem *b- < v-*, so auch NÖLDEKE, der zu mand. *bastirqā*, das er einfach mit „Prachtkleid“ wiedergab, nicht nur *bistar*, sondern auch „pehlevi *wstrg*, pâzend *vastarg*“ verglich (Mandäische Grammatik, 1875, S. xxxii N. 1). Wie NÖLDEKE, wollte nun auch FR. MÜLLER das neupers. *bistar* usw. zu idg. \**wes-* „kleiden“ im altind. *vas-tra-* „Kleid“, avest. *vastra-* stellen, während P. HORN im Hinblick auf die Bedeutung „Lager“ (und nicht „Kleid“) diese Etymologie ablehnte, vgl. Grundriss der neupersischen Etymologie (1893), S. 50 Nr. 218, wo es zu \**vi-star-* „ausbreiten“ gestellt wird<sup>9</sup>. Gegen diese Auffassung hat H. HÜBSCHMANN in seinen „Persischen Studien“ (1895) keinen Einspruch erhoben. Nach HORN ist nämlich die Wurzel *vas-* (\**wes-*) im Neupersischen vollständig verlorengegangen, aber sonst u. a. in dem mand. *bastirqā* erhalten (Grundriss der neupers.

<sup>9</sup> Vgl. neupers. *gustardan* „ausbreiten“.

Etymologie, S. 299 Nr. 215). Im Hinblick auf das jüd.-aram. *bistarqē* braucht mand. *bastirqā* gar nicht ursprünglich zu sein; es kann in der Tat infolge einer Vokalmetathese aus *bistarqā* entstanden sein. Wie dem auch sei, es bieten sich hier einerseits ein iran. \**vi-star-*, andererseits ein iran. \**vastr-*. Da nun Bedeutungen wie „bed, mattress, bolster“ ohne Zweifel mehr in die Richtung von \**vi-star-* hinweisen, während Bedeutungen wie „woolen robe, Kleider“ ein \**vastr-* nahezulegen scheinen, erhebt sich die Frage, ob nicht etwa in mand. *bastirqā*, *bistirqā*, Talmud *bistarqē* ein Zusammenfall von \**vi-star-* und \**vastr-* vorliegen könnte<sup>10</sup>. Im Sinne von „Pferdedecke“, „Pelzüberzug“ dürften auf alle Fälle türk. *basturuk*, *bastırık* und — wenn hieraus verkürzt — auch *basruq* eine iran. *bastar(a)k-*, *bistar(a)k-* vertreten und somit vom echttürk. *bas-*, *bastır-* „drücken“ zu trennen sein. Im Diwān lugāt at-Turk, Blatt 234b–235a, sagt MAHMŪD AL-KĀŠGARĪ: *basruq: tiqālu kulli šay(in) yuqālu minhu fi lmaṭali* (235a) پیر بسروقی قانع بدُون بُسرقی باک ma'naḥu 'anna 'awtāda l'arđi wa tiqālahā bi lgibāli fa kadālika tiqālu nnāsi l'umarā'u ya'-nī anna qarāra l'arđi bi lgibāli fa kadālika qarāru nnāsi bi l'umarā'i li'an-nahum yūzī'ūna bihi (Divanü Lûgat-it-Türk tipkîbasımı, Ankara 1941), vgl. ATALAYS „Tercüme“ I, S. 466 und FERIT BIRTEK, En eski Türk savları (Ankara 1944), S. 42 Nr. 216. Heute lautet das Sprichwort „yer baskısı dağ, millet baskısı beydir“ (P. WITTEK, Turkish Reader, 1945, S. 20 Nr. 22; etwas anders Kalila wa Dimna (ed. L. CHEIKHO 1950), S. 71: šabbahat-i l'ulamā'u ssultāna bi lgabali lwa'ri şşa'bi lmaslaki llađi fihi kullu ṭamaratin ṭayyibatin wa huwa ma'dinu nnumūri wa l'usdi wa ddi'ābi wa kulli sabu'in maxūfin wa l'irtiqā'u' ilayhi šadidun wa lmaqāmu<sup>11</sup> fihi 'axħwafu! Dieses *basruq* kann kaum den Bedeutungswandel „Drücker“, „etwas Drückendes“ zu „Pferdedecke“ durchgemacht haben, wie BROCKELMANN anzunehmen scheint (Osttürkische Grammatik, S. 135). Ein echttürk. *basruq* hat sich hier höchstens mit einem aus *basturuq* (aus dem Iranischen) verkürzten *basruq* bedeutungsmässig vermengt.

<sup>10</sup> Hierzu ist G. WIDENGREN, Iranisch-semitische Kulturgegung in parthischer Zeit (1960), S. 91, zu vergleichen, wo ein „mittelparthisches“ *vastray* (S. 154b) ohne Belegstelle zitiert wird. S. TELEGI unterscheidet vielleicht zu Recht zwischen mand. *bastirqā* (zu *vastrak*) und *bistarqā* (zu \**vistarak*), Journal Asiatique 226/1935, S. 235.

<sup>11</sup> So CHEIKHO.

#### 4. Alttürk. *amari* „einige“ und seine Verwandten

In der Erzählung von Dantapali 30–31 lesen wir: *bażşı-si inčä tip tidi: amari-lariniŋ<sup>12</sup> bu köz-ünür az-unta y(i)mä täginmäkläri bar*, was S. HIMRAN durch „Öğretmen söyle dedi: ‘Bazlılarının bu görünür hayatı dahi uğradıkları vakıdır’“ wiedergibt (F. W. K. MÜLLER – A. VON GABAIN, Uygurea üç hikaye. Uigurica IV-B, C, D. Türkçeye çeviren S. HIMRAN, Istanbul 1946, S. 32–33). Von diesen Wörtern sind nicht weniger als drei Fremdwörter, nämlich *bażşı* „Lehrer“, *azun* „Leben“ und *amari* „einige“, das uns hier beschäftigen soll. Dieses Wort findet sich übrigens auch in der Geschichte von Kalyānamkara und Pāpamkara, vgl. HÜSEYİN NAMİK ORKHUN, Prens Kalyanamkara ve Papamkara hikayesinen Uyurcası, Istanbul 1940 S. 73<sup>13</sup>.

Nach VON GABAIN ist dieses *amari* vielleicht von einem mitteliranischen \*ahmāra abzuleiten, womit auch ein sakisches *ahumara* „ungezählt, einige“ verglichen wird (Alttürkische Grammatik, S. 294a)<sup>14</sup>. Das herangezogene sakische Wort ist uns nur in der Form *ahumāra* und in der Bedeutung „zahllos“ aus S. KONOW, Khotansakische Grammatik (1941), S. 105 bekannt, und das alttürkische *asanki* zu Kuči *asamkyai* < altind. *asamkhyeya-* scheint auf jeden Fall nur „unzählbar“ bedeuten zu können (VON GABAIN, Alttürkische Grammatik, S. 296a); vgl. avest. *ahax̊sta-* „100 000“, eigentlich „unzählbar“, worauf die Pahlavi-Übersetzung mit *amar* „unzählig“ antwortet (CHR. BARTHOLOMAE, Altiranisches Wörterbuch, 1904, 280; HENRIK S. NYBERG, Hilfsbuch des Pehlevi II, S. 8; Manual of Pahlavi, S. 144b). Ein Bedeutungswandel „unzählig, zahllos“, „einige“ ist wohl an sich nicht unmöglich, scheint aber sehr selten vorzukommen; neopers. *nahmār*, armen. *anhamar* ist ja „zahllos, unzählig“. Es sei daher hier auf eine andere uns recht evidente Möglichkeit hingewiesen, das türk. *amari* zu deuten.

Das Jüdisch-Aramäische kennt ein freilich nicht sehr gebräuchliches Wort, *'ahmrā* (Stat. indet. *'ahmar*) „Zahl“, das Dalman als ein nicht-iranisches Lehnwort betrachtete (Aramäisch-neuhebräisches Handwörterbuch, S. 13a)<sup>15</sup>. Dieses aram. *'ahmar-* gehört nun ohne Zweifel mit

<sup>12</sup> HIMRAN drückt *amarı*, nicht *amari*.

<sup>13</sup> Hier wird das Wort *amarı* transkribiert und durch „diğer!, bazı“ übersetzt.

<sup>14</sup> Die Etymologie ist von N. POPPE, Introduction to Altaic Linguistics (1965), S. 168, akzeptiert worden.

<sup>15</sup> Der Stat. indet. bedeutet nach Dalman vielleicht auch „Rubin“ (wahrscheinlich ein anderes Wort), vgl. auch S. TELELDI, Journal Asiatique 226/1935, S. 227.

dem syr. *'hmr'gr* „tributi collector“ zusammen, das bei BROCKELMANN, Lexicon Syriacum, S. 7a, mit dem jüd.-aram. *'mrkl* kombiniert wird. Das Wort *'ammarkəlā* „Oberster, Priesteroberer“ (so DALMAN, Handwörterbuch, S. 24a) findet sich z. B. Numeri 3,32, wo es hebr. *nāši* „Stammesfürst“ wiedergibt, und der Plural *'ammarkəlayyā* Jeremia 1,1: *mērēšē matt̄rat kāh<sup>a</sup>nayyā min 'ammarkəlayyā da-h<sup>a</sup>wō birūšəlam* (ed. A. SPERBER). Das aram. *'ammarkəlā* ist zunächst aus einem *\*'ammarkərā* entstanden (Dissimilation), das an sich auf ein *'ahmarkar-* zurückgehen kann, in dem wir unser jüd.-aram. *'ahmərā*, (*'ahmar*) „Zahl“ wiederfinden und das mit dem parthischen *'hmrkr* zu vergleichen ist<sup>16</sup>. Das Wort lässt sich schon im Spätbabylonischen belegen. The Assyrian Dictionary 6/1956, S. 59f. hat sub *hamarakara* „book-keeper“ die folgenden Formen: [*LÚha*]-*am-ma-ra-a-ka-r[a]*, *LÚam-mar-kar-ra* und mit Dissimilation *am-ma-ri/u-a-kal*, Plur. *am-ma-ri-a-kal-la-nu*, was alles auf ein altpersisches „*\*hamāra'kara*“ (lies: *\*hamāra-kara*) zurückgeführt wird, während W. VON SODEN, Akkadisches Handwörterbuch, S. 44a, ein *hamārakāra* ansetzt, das wohl aber eher als *hamārakara-* zu schreiben wäre, vgl. W. EILERS, Iranische Beamennamen in der keilschriftlichen Überlieferung (1940), S. 43 ff. und S. 123; derselbe, A Locust's Leg. Studies in honour of S. H. TAQIZADEH (1962), S. 55. Als ein iranisches Lehnwort findet sich schliesslich auch im Ägyptisch-Aramäischen ein *hmrkry*', über dessen exakte Aussprache wir nichts wissen.

Aus diesen Tatsachen ergeben sich einige lautliche Probleme, die hier nicht entgültig gelöst werden können. Nur folgendes sei hierzu gesagt. Wenn alttürk. *amari* „einige“ zu einem iran. *\*ahmār-* „Rechnung, Zahl“ gehört, das wir auch im parthischen *'hmr-kr*, aram. *'ahmar*, *'hmr'-gr* vorgefunden haben, könnte man versucht sein, das jüd.-aram. *'ammarkəlā* auf ein *\*'ahmarkəlā* zurückzuführen. Nun ist aber auf die spätere Vokalisierung des jüd.-aram.  wohl kaum allzuviel zu geben. Die Länge des *-m-* kann hier sekundär sein, d. h. eingetreten um der Reduktion des *a* in *'ammarkəlā* > *<sup>a</sup>markəlā* vorzubeugen. Wenn dem so ist, lässt sich dieses *'ammarkəlā* auf ein *hamārkal-* < *hamār-kar-* zurückführen. Ein iran. *hamār* sollte im Aramäischen zu *h<sup>a</sup>mār-(ā)* werden, das dann weiter — mit prosthethischem *'a-* — zu *'ahmar-* werden konnte.

<sup>16</sup> Als altes, parthisches Lehnwort im Armenischen *hamarakar* „Steuereinnehmer“, HÜBSCHMANN, Armenische Grammatik, S. 12–13! und S. 171.178. Die Auffassung POPPES, das Parthische habe „until the end of the first millennium A.D.“ existiert, müsste wohl erst bewiesen werden (Introduction to Altaic Linguistics, S. 168).

Eine solche Form scheint im jüd.-aram. *'ḥmr'* vorzuliegen, während *'mrkl'* zunächst ein \**amārkal-*<*hamār-kar-* reflektiert. Demzufolge sollte eigentlich entweder **אַמָּרְקָלָהּ** oder **אַמָּרְקָרָהּ** vokalisiert werden. Die einfachste Lösung ist wohl, das alttürk. *amari* unmittelbar auf ein iran. *hamār(a)-* „Berechnung, Zahl, Mass“ zurückgehen zu lassen. Wenn man aber eher geneigt ist, jenes von einem iran. *ahmār-* abzuleiten, stellt das *a-* hier auf alle Fälle keine Negation dar. Es liegt vielmehr dieselbe semantische Entwicklung vor wie im hebr. *yāmīm mispār* „einige, wenige Tage“, *'anšē mispār* „einige, wenige Männer“ vor, zu *mispār* „Rechnen, Zahl“, vgl. auch arab. *ma'dūd* „wenig, ein paar“. Dass wir auch in dem alttürk. *amari* „einige“ einen Ausläufer des alten iranischen Wortes *hamāra-* antreffen, ist gewiss nicht auffällig, da wir dieses sowohl im Neubabylonischen als auch im Aramäischen und Armenischen (*hamar*) als Lehnwort bzw. Fremdwort vorfinden; zu HÜBSCHMANNS Konstruktion \**ham-hmāra-* (Persische Studien, S. 105) sind auch die Ausführungen MAYRHOFERS über altpers. *hamātar-* zu vergleichen (Annali I/1959, S. 13f.).

### 5. Zur Entstehung des Kausativs im Türkischen

Die kausative Aktionsart wird im Reichstürkischen vor allem mit Hilfe der drei Affixe *-t ~ -d*, *-ir ~ -ır ~ -ur ~ -ür ~ -ar* und *-tir ~ -dir*, *~ -tır ~ -dır* usw. gebildet, z. B. *okumak* „lesen“ : *okutmak* „lesen lassen“, *bitmek* „enden“ : *bitirmek* „beendigen“, *ölmek* „sterben“ : *öldürmek* „töten“. Von diesen beiden Affixen wird *-tir ~ -dir* usw. wohl mit Recht als eine Kombination der beiden anderen betrachtet. Nach BROCKELMANN ist der ursprüngliche Sinn dieser Kausativaffixe nicht mehr zu erkennen (Osttürkische Grammatik, S. 206 § 151), und man könnte meinen, es lohne sich kaum, über ihre „Grundbedeutung“ Vermutungen anzustellen. Doch, durch die grossartige Entwicklung der allgemeinen Sprachwissenschaft ist es uns möglich geworden, auch hier weiter zu kommen und das Problem der Kausativaffixe etwas schärfer als zuvor ins Auge zu fassen. Haben doch schon gewisse allgemeine Erkenntnisse von der wahren Natur des sog. Perfekts auch zu einer richtigeren Auffassung des türkischen Typus *geldim* geführt, vgl. Verf., Das altsyrische Verbalsystem (1960), S. 71 ff.; mit unseren Ausführungen ist die Darstellung O. PRITSAKS, Handbuch der Orientalistik 1. Abt. V:1/1963, S. 46 § 60, zu vergleichen. Im Anschluss an unsere Darlegungen in „Orientalia Suecana“ 12/1964, S. 104 ff.; 13/1965, S. 76 ff. und S. 80 ff.;

14/1966, S. 65 f.; Die Sprache 12/1966, S. 136 f. und in „Erneuerung des Verbalaspekts im Semitischen“ (1963), S. 100 ff. wollen wir unten das Verhältnis des Aoriststammes auf *-(i)r* usw. zum Kausativthema auf *-ir* usw. studieren.

In einer Reihe von Fällen sind die mit *-ir* gebildeten Morpheme nicht eindeutig. So kann ein finites *çikar* sowohl als Aorist von *çikmak* „hinausgehen“ als auch als Imperativ von *çikarmak* „herausbringen“ verstanden werden, einer Form, die ihrerseits das Kausativum *çikartmak* bildet. Hier entscheidet der Kontext, vgl. Verf., Das althebräische Verbum. Abriss der Aspektlehre (1961) § 9. Vom funktionellen Gesichtspunkt aus bezeichnet das Morph *-ar* im Aorist *çikar* einen Aspektstamm, der einem *çikiyor* entgegensteht<sup>17</sup>, in dem Imperativ *çikar* hingegen eine Aktionsart, die sich in lexikalischer Weise einem *çik!* gegenüberstellt. Da sich nun die jeweilige Funktion des Morphs *-(i)r* usw. aus den in der Sprachgemeinschaft bestehenden Oppositionen ergibt, steht in der Tat der Annahme nichts hindernd im Wege, das Aoristsuffix könne mit dem Kausativsuffix genetisch identisch sein. Wir wollen hier den Versuch unternehmen, eine derartige Identität zu beweisen oder jedenfalls wahrscheinlich zu machen.

In den verschiedensten Sprachen lassen sich Kausativa auf ältere Iterativa zurückführen, und es erhebt sich auch hier die Frage, ob es möglich ist, im Morph *-ir* usw. ein ursprünglich iterativisches Element zu sehen. In einer Form wie *çik-i-yor* liegt bekanntlich ein alter periphrastischer Typus vor, denn *-yor* gehört mit dem Verbum *yürümek* „gehen, marschieren“ etymologisch zusammen: *çikiyor* etwa „he is coming, going out“. Solche Periphrasen stellen im allgemeinen Beispiele für die Erscheinung dar, die man als Erneuerung des kursiven Aspekts bezeichnet. Im vorliegenden Falle bedeutet dies, dass der Typus *çikiyor* einen älteren Kursiv verdrängt hat. Dass dieser ältere Kursivtypus die Gestalt des späteren Aorists gehabt hat, ist *a priori* äusserst wahrscheinlich, vgl. Verf., Erneuerung des Verbalaspekts im Semitischen, S. 83; hierzu PRITSAK, Handbuch der Orientalistik 1. Abt. V:1, S. 46 § 61<sup>18</sup>. Wenn also ein Typus wie *çikar* früher auch kursive Funktionen besessen hat, muss das Morph *-ar*, *-ir* usw. zunächst durativ-iterativisch gewesen

<sup>17</sup> Die in *çikar/çikiyor* zum Ausdruck kommende aspektuelle Opposition betrachten wir in *çik!* als aufgehoben (neutralisiert), vgl. Verf., Orientalia Suecana 9/1961, S. 84; Erneuerung des Verbalaspekts im Semitischen, S. 95.

<sup>18</sup> Für eine ältere Funktion des Aorists siehe die Bemerkung L. JOHANSONS unten S. 225.

sein, oder richtiger: wenn in der Kategorie *-ir* usw. ein Lexem realisiert wurde, ergab sich ein Durativ oder ein Iterativ, was für den Ausdruck des kursiven Aspekts besonders geeignet war. Die besondere Frage, wie bei einem derartigen Sprachzustand der non-kursive Aspekt zum Ausdruck gebracht worden ist, kann hier ausser Acht gelassen werden. Wie lässt sich aber z. B. ein *cik-ar* im Sinne von „he is coming, going out“ sprachgeschichtlich verstehen<sup>19</sup>?

Eine Form wie *gel-ir*, *käl-ir*, „kommt“ ist wahrscheinlich eine Bildung wie *är-*, „sein“, das wir als ein *ä-r*, ursprünglich „ist“ oder „seiend“, zu *\*ä-*, „sein“ auffassen möchten<sup>20</sup>. Wie das Passivaffix *-il*, *-ıl* usw. auf *ol-*, „sein“ zurückgehen kann (BROCKELMANN, Osttürkische Grammatik, S. 201 § 148 und § 166), dürfte auch ein *kälir* einfach dieses *är-* enthalten können („Zusammenrückung“ etwa im Sinne F. SOMMERS)<sup>21</sup>. Da nun das nontransformative Lexem *är-* an sich auch „durativisch“ ist, hat *käl-ir* also etwa „he is coming“ bedeutet. Als sog. Aspektstamm be-

<sup>19</sup> Für das Alttürkische vergleiche man VON GABAIN, Alttürkische Grammatik, § 216, S. 112. Nach PRITSAK hat der alttürk. Aorist zwei Funktionen: 1) Konkretes Präsens. 2) „Durativ-Extratemporale“, was auch in widerspruchsvoller Weise „Tempus Extratemporale“ genannt wird (Handbuch der Orientalistik 1. Abt. V:1 § 59 und § 61). Vom Standpunkt unserer zunächst für das Semitische erarbeiteten Aspektlehre aus würde sich etwa folgendes Bild ergeben: *qazyanur* 1) „he is conquering“ = B. 2) „he conquers“ = Γ (generell). Zu Γ gehören in verschiedener Weise theoretisch sowohl ein Habitativ als auch ein Stativ („is conqueror“) und ein Futur. Welche Funktionen auf einer bestimmten Stufe der Sprachentwicklung realisiert werden, beruht auf der Struktur des jeweiligen Verbalsystems. Auch im akkad. *iparras* dürfte die futurische Funktion von dem Wert Γ ausgehen. Die Annahme, es sei auch beim Futur unmittelbar von dem Wert B auszugehen, müsste wohl mit einer Analogie nach den nontransformativen Lexemen rechnen: *damiq* : *idammiq* „wird gut“, wonach auch *iparras* „wird entscheiden“; für dieses Problem vergleiche man Verf., Die Sprache 12, S. 135. Es braucht wohl kaum gesagt zu werden, dass die leicht hingeworfene Skizze einiger aspektuellen Relationen des türkischen Verbalsystems in unserem „Abriss“, S. 72–76 nur als eine Anregung gedacht war. Heute würden wir diese Skizze beträchtlich ergänzen können, obwohl dies nicht unseres Amtes ist.

<sup>20</sup> Nach PRITSAK ist die Bedeutung „sein“ bei *är-* aus einer Bedeutung „erreichen“ entstanden (Handbuch der Orientalistik 1. Abt. V:1 § 57), während VON GABAIN zwischen *är-*, „sein“ und *är-*, „ankommen“ unterscheidet (Alttürk. Grammatik, S. 298b). W. BANG betrachtete *ä-*, „sein“ als eine ältere Nebenform zu *är-*, „sein“ (vgl. ZDMG 73/1919, S. 13 N. 1).

<sup>21</sup> Nach PRITSAK stellt der Typus *qazyanur* von Haus aus „das ehemalige durative Partizip“ dar (Handbuch der Orientalistik 1. Abt. V:1 § 61), vgl. RAMSTEDTS altaische Zusammenstellungen, Einführung in die altaische Sprachwissenschaft II/1952, S. 86 ff. und hierzu BROCKELMANN, Osttürkische Grammatik, § 180a.

trachtet war somit *kälib-* auch durativ-iterativisch. Wenn nun die Sprache diese Qualität der -ir-Themen dazu benutzt hätte, eine Klasse von Intensiva zu bilden, wäre es nicht möglich gewesen, den in Frage stehenden Typus gleichzeitig als Kausativ zu gebrauchen. Wenn in einem solchen System ein -ir-Thema neben dem Simplex ohne einen deutlichen Bedeutungsunterschied gebraucht wird, handelt es sich um lexikalische Dubletten (vgl. VON GABAIN, Alttürkische Grammatik § 161 und § 166). Das intensiv-iterative Moment hat sich hier aber in grammatischer Richtung entwickelt. Wenn dann ein -ir-Thema zunächst mit intransitiven Lexemen kombiniert wurde, konnte sich aus dieser Opposition eine transitive Funktion ergeben, die als Faktitiv-Kausativ interpretiert wurde: *doğ-mak* „geboren werden“ / *doğur-mak* „gebären“, alttürk. *toγ-/toγur-*; alttürk. *täg-* „erreichen, ankommen“ / *tägür-* „bringen“ usw. (Verf., Die Sprache 12, S. 134 ff.)<sup>22</sup>, man beachte z. B. alttürk. *käl-ir* „kommt“ / *kälib-*, *kälib-* „bringen“.

Daneben besass das Türkische ein anderes Mittel, Kausativa zu bilden, nämlich das Element -t, das W. BANG wohl mit Recht zu *ät-* „machen“ stellte (vgl. BROCKELMANN, Osttürkische Grammatik § 151 f.). Das dritte Kausativaffix -tir -dir usw. verdankt dann seine Entstehung einer Kombination der aus *ät-* „tun, machen“ und *är-* „sein“ entstandenen Affixe. Der Umstand, dass die Affixe -t und -ir wesensverschiedenen Ursprungs sind, legt die Vermutung nahe, der später so gewöhnliche und vom Neupersischen her kräftig beeinflusste Typus mit einem Nomen + *etmek*, *kilmak* (*hapsetmek* usw.) könne durch einen Typus wie *oku-t-mak* geradezu vorgebildet sein. Wenn diese Vermutung zutrifft, kann die Entstehung der -t-Kausativa im Sinne von Transitivity (im weiten Sinne) durch das Mitteliranische vermittelt worden sein<sup>23</sup>; zum uigurischen Gebrauch des Verbums *tur-* „sein“ < „stehen“ ist die entsprechende Verwendung des mitteliranischen *ēstātan* zu vergleichen, vgl. Verf., Orientalia Suecana 14–15/1966, S. 70 sowie Fr. MÜLLER, „Das Verbum ‘hastam’ im Neupersischen“ (Sitzungsber. der Kais. Akad. der Wissenschaften in Wien CXXXIII/1896, 2. Abh.). Wenn wir die formale Distribution der Kausativaffixe -t, -tir und -ir im Reichstürkischen untersuchen, finden wir eine Lage vor, die sich jedenfalls teilweise als die einer komplementären Distribution charakterisieren liesse. Ein solcher

<sup>22</sup> Nach RAMSTEDT ist das mongolische Kausativum auf -r-, -ri- mit dem türkischen auf -r- ~ -z- identisch (Einführung in die altaische Sprachwissenschaft II, S. 176), vgl. BROCKELMANN, Osttürkische Grammatik, § 151.

<sup>23</sup> Tureo-Mongolica bei RAMSTEDT, Einführung II, S. 175 f.

Zustand stellt gewöhnlicherweise das Ergebnis älterer morphologischer Vorgänge dar. So erscheint das Affix *-t* bei mehrsilbigen Verbalstämmen, welche auf Vokal oder auf *l* oder *r* ausgehen: *söyle-t*, *oku-t*, *azal-t*, *süpür-t* usw.<sup>24</sup> Wenn nun der Typus *oku-t*, alttürk. *oqi-t*, eigentlich das Verbum *ät-*, „tun, machen“ nach dem Muster etwa des mitteliran. *kartan* enthält, dürfte dies auch für die Beurteilung des Stammesauslauts (*ok-u*, *oq-i*) solcher Typen seine Bedeutung haben.

Abschliessend sei zu den Verba für „machen“, *eylemek* und *etmek* folgendes bemerkt. Die Etymologie von *eylemek* verdanken wir W. BANG, der es zu *ädlä- < äd-lä-* zu *ädgü* „gut“ stellte, was so weit von BROCKELMANN akzeptiert wurde (ZDMG 74/1920, S. 214). BROCKELMANN lehnte jedoch den Vorschlag ab, auch *ät-* auf ein *äd-* zurückzuführen (a. a. O., S. 215). Nach diesem Gelehrten hätte sich ferner die Bedeutung „machen“ bei *eylemek* aus Bedeutungen wie „anwenden, verwenden, benutzen, berücksichtigen“ entwickelt, wie er auch *ädgü* als „etwas Verwendbares“ auffasste (S. 215). Man wird aber hier von *äd*, *äδ* „gut, Gutes“ (vgl. alttürk. *äd* „Materie, Wert, Güter“) ausgehen müssen: *äd-gü* „gut, Gutes“ / *äd-lä-* zunächst Faktitiv „gut machen“ >,in Stand setzen“, „zubereiten“, vgl. altsyr. *tayyeb* „parare“ <,gut machen“ zu *tāb* „gut“ und mitteltürk. *ädgär-* „verbessern, für gut halten, sich kümmern um“ (ZDMG 74, S. 215), das von *ädgü* auszugehen scheint. Hingegen ist *ätmäk* nach BROCKELMANN als ein Kausativum von *ä-* „sein“ anzusprechen (ZDMG 70, S. 204; 73, S. 13 N. 1; 74, S. 215)<sup>25</sup>, während nach PRITSAK \**ä-* „nicht sein“ bedeuten soll (Handbuch der Orientalistik 1. Abt. V:1, S. 45 § 57). Zu *är-r-* gehört bekanntlich auch *ärinč* „gewiss, in der Tat“, vgl. V. THOMSEN, Samlede Afhandlinger III/1927, S. 122 ff.; BROCKELMANN, Keleti Szemle 17/1916–17, S. 191. Dieses *ärinč* scheint sich zu *är-* „sein“ etwa wie Sanskrit *sat�am* (Neutr. als Adverb) „gewiss, in der Tat“ zu \**as-* „sein“ zu verhalten (Lehmuersetzung ?); vgl. im übrigen den Aufsatz „Indo-European influences on Ural-Altaic languages“ von KARL H. MENGES (Word 1/1945, S. 188 ff.).

<sup>24</sup> Vgl. z. B. L. PETERS, Grammatik der türkischen Sprache (1947), § 181; H. J. KISSLING, Osmanisch-türkische Grammatik (1960), S. 238 f.

<sup>25</sup> Osttürkische Grammatik, S. 207–208 leitet BROCKELMANN jedoch *ät-* von einem *är-t-* ab, vgl. alttürk. *ärtür-* im Sinne von „tun“.

**Notes on the Kūfic Inscription of the Royal Palace  
of Mas'ūd III at Ghazni**

I have almost nothing to add to the learned and exhaustive investigation by Prof. A. BOMBACI of the historical background and his masterly presentation of the material in "The Kūfic Inscription in the Court of the Royal Palace of Mas'ūd III at Ghazni", Rome 1966. His merit in discovering the *mutaqārib* meter in the slabs 1–36 (west wall, niches XIIIId–IX) remains indisputable. I extend the same meter to the slabs 37–41 (east wall, niches LII–LIII); but I don't share his point of view that the *idāfa*-i was sometimes written with Y (e.g. op. cit., p. 12 (2)). Thus, of the 4 *idāfas* designated by Y according to B., in the best part of the inscription, slabs 1–36 (i.e. 9, 23, 26, 27) I consider that only the first one represents an *idāfa*, and this in the special case where the preceding word ends with -H = -a (as in the slab 108). In this case they have had two possibilities: to mark the *idāfa* with c above the -H, or to write a Y in the line between the two words. In the other 3 cases, as we will see in the following, Y represents the indefinite article and consequently is an -ē. The author's observation that the conjunction W (ō, u) is accidentally missing is, on the contrary, correct. Further, considering the time and specially the region in which the inscription is placed, I object to the author's not distinguishing between *ma'lūm* (ū, ī) and *majhūl* vowels (ō, ē), a difference still alive in Tajikistan, Afghanistan and eastern Persia.

The column at the left contains BOMBACI's interpretation and translation; and in the right one are my suggestions.

Slabs 1–4

*mutaqārib*: (—|—|—|

—|—)

[za] imān-i khvad har kasi bar yaqin. [zi] ...

†

ba-d-in u ba-d-ān 'ilm-i dīn dāda ast. bad-in u bad-ān 'ilm i dīn dāda i[  
[Gap of 10–11 lines] (ast, ...?)]

Slabs 1-4:

XIII d

امان حود ه رکسے بر یعنی دین و بدان علم د ن |  
(Gap of 10-11 lines) داده |

Slabs 5-7:

XII

مالیں فروں نہ اس دین و حما لس کیوں ماس و نظر را بظاہرا |  
(Gap of about 27 lines)

Slabs 8-16:

XI

ب مربا ارسان سو خد دار بیدا اسمان حس نصر |  
 ب د د س ت کرد س پ کس حس د لج د د س برد س کس +  
 حرار ساہ محمود را ان سود |  
(Gap of 3 lines)

<sup>1</sup> B.: ست [ا] هبنا [ا], see my interpretation, note 9.

<sup>2</sup> Final J occurs twice in the entire material (sl. 14,44) and once standing alone J (sl. 48). Similar to the normal Arabic letter, it ends with a bow opening to the right and falling a bit below the line. This type of J is to be seen in the inscription of Malik-Šāh in Amida and on the tower of Rādkān, cf. S. FLURY, Islamische Schriftbänder, Amida-Diarbekr XI Jahrhundert, Basel-Paris 1920, pl. X,3 and XIV, 3 h.



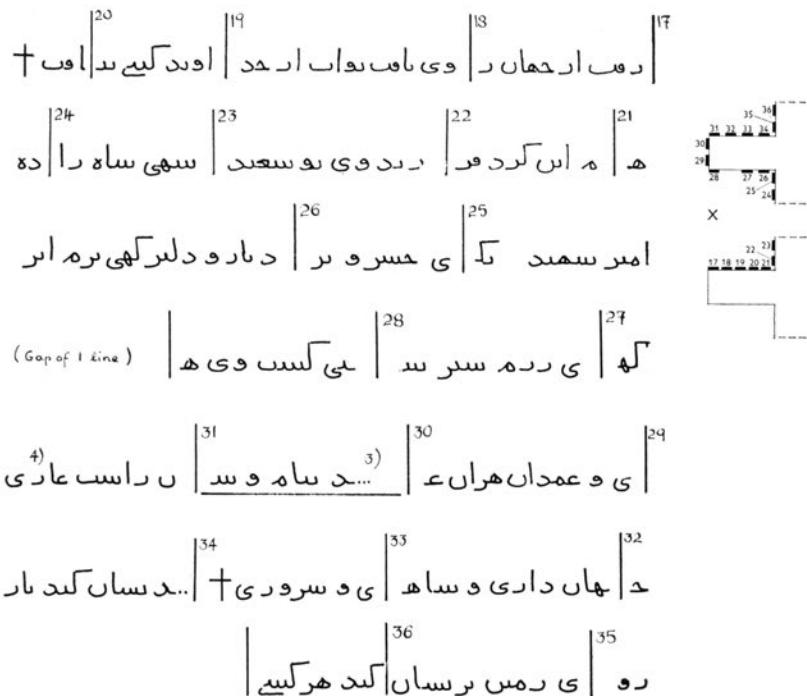
Amida



Rādkān

Of this J BOMBACI makes a ligature of J + Y. Once (sl. 44) he considers it as an *idāfa*, another time (sl. 48) he reads it as an indefinite article in spite of the awkwardness of the word combination, and for one case (sl. 14) he offers no explana-

Slabs 17-36:



Everyone was sure of his own faith,  
He taught the science of religion to  
one and all.

Everyone, sure from his own faith;  
Thou (He, ...?) hath bestowed the  
science of religion to this and that  
one (perhaps two persons or  
categories of people mentioned in  
the missing slabs, or less likely, to  
some people).

tion. It is true that the -Y could have the same shape but its contour is always angular. Thus, in the pl. XXXIV, 17a is -Y and 17b is nothing other than the tail of J.



17 a



17 b

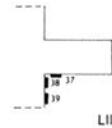
I would like to mention here that the sl. 107 figured in Fig. 128, Alphabetical table, 17b belongs to 17a.

<sup>3</sup> The slab is reused in the wrong place. A glance at the motif of this and the next one makes it quite clear.

<sup>4</sup> Perhaps a *hamza* ـ between *alif* and R is missing.

Slabs 37 - 39:

حو دل حس<sup>5)</sup> و کسا<sup>5)</sup> د حو | 39 | 38 | 37 |



Slabs 40 - 41:

حا را مهمان<sup>6)</sup> سد | 40 | 41 |



Slabs 42 - 44:

د کل و اب<sup>6)</sup> ها د ب سر کرد | 44 | 43 | 42 |



## Slabs 5-7

[——| ——] [ka]mālash fuzūn  
[hab]ā [a]st ast zain u jamālash  
kunūn

qiyās u nażar-rā niżām [—| —]

[Gap of about 28 lines]

... his perfection was exceptional,  
today his grace and beauty [are lost].

[He reduced to] order analogy and reasoning.

nīhān<sup>9</sup> ast zain u jamāl-aš kunūn

qiyās u nażar rā niżām ā[fariḍ.]

... his perfection great(er),  
today his grace and beauty are  
[hidden].

[He created] order for analogy and reasoning.

<sup>5)</sup> The sign has been worn away; BOMBACI takes it for a D.

<sup>6)</sup> and <sup>7)</sup> B.: J + Y; see note 2.

<sup>8)</sup> B.: کنوار (?); see note 21.

<sup>9)</sup> In the Alphabetical table, pl. XXXIII, 14 (BOMBACI, op.cit.) an initial N of type of B (and Y; initial, medial) does not occur, even though nażar (sl. 6) and niżām (sl. 7) are written with this N. After fuzūn the shaft and the upper part of the loop of a hood-shaped N are visible. The next letter is almost certainly an H. After the alif there is the trace of a vertical shaft with a thorn at the left side which joins the following S with a U-shaped curve.



But, for a reading *habā ast* there are many objections:

- (1) it should be complemented with an *alif* for which there is no place;
- (2) the word *habā'* in itself has, like *fanā'*, a pejorative meaning;

Slabs 45-116 (*not in situ.*)

45 ردان	59 مس دعاء ابرین	73 عن دسدده بدب
46 هی + ندو داده محمد	60 هسب بها	74 حسن دولت اریا کله
47 ب + مسلمانی	61 کدسهه ارس	75 وسا
48 مددس باح و نسب کله	62 لکوان <sup>(8)</sup> حوههم	76 حلد برس
49 هسب او سرد	63 ی کرد تکار سر	77 بهرا برد
50 نهد سد بعرین فرد	64 همه مالاد سه	78 ن همی برگند
51 مسسهه برس	65 بمعزحد	79 کرد ع
52 فرید سد + هی ر	66 بکو لکف و رب	80 بکسی گ
53 هر	67 طاعب سبیه	81 طن هند
54 وبر	68 عهم + بوقیو	82 ن دمن و دمان
55 ن صد	69 ان کای ر محقره	83 سر
56 کسان + حد	70 مان سب معاشر دن ار	84 هران حمله بهم
57 هی کسد سب ا	71 مس قد همسب	85 باب کریم ندو
58 برقان برای	72 دهد	86 سان + همر

(3) the trace of the H is too clear to be taken for B;

(4) —and this is important—the ornamental design on the upper part of the shafts, in the whole Kufic material here, is in a vertical line with the shaft on the right side and open to the left, except for *alif* which is exactly inverse. Now here we see on the top of the first shaft of S an ornament standing to the right side of the shaft. It belongs to the shaft of N from which we have a faint trace.

For presumably another type of N (single) see below, note 21.

۸۷	کلس فدیه	۱۰۱	صطاوی سی مز
۸۸	دل دسم	۱۰۲	دکس دران
۸۹	دلیل همی اوهد	۱۰۳	† همه عالمان
۹۰	بردو سلام کی مدرسه	۱۰۴	مود برد
۹۱	ن س حلاطف نعید	۱۰۵	مسیحد سد سب ان
۹۲	بی حوان سد د	۱۰۶	بن بر حکم
۹۳	عد علوم سریع	۱۰۷	کی ساره مو
۹۴	را حمال ت	۱۰۸	حسمه ی
۹۵	را صاد داد	۱۰۹	راسن هرار انا
۹۶	ا و	۱۱۰	برسیاد
۹۷	عادن بعماں	۱۱۱	ادرمان ت بروز
۹۸	ملک بر عرب رسب	۱۱۲	ب د همسة
۹۹	حود و سیما	۱۱۳	سه تکو
۱۰۰	ن حوالد برس بود ارسی	۱۱۴	ی بود ایکه ناد

## Stabs 8–16

[—] ft *mīrās az īn ba-ān* ... ft *mīrāt i uzzainiyān*<sup>10</sup>  
*ba-tauhid-i dāranda-i āsmān.* † (... ft = — | —)  
*chunīn nuṣrat-i dīn na-karda-st kas,*  
*chunīn ranj dar dīn na-burda-st kas.*

†

*juz az shāh maḥmūd-rā īn na-būd*

[Gap of three lines]

<sup>10</sup> There is no need to point out the importance of Ujjaini, the *qubbat al-'ard* of the Moslems (Bīrunī, Abu'l-Fidā', Ibn Rusta). Ibn Rusta has the variants Udain, Ujjain, Uzain, thence the Islamic *arīn* (cf. PH. HITTI, History of the Arabs, London 1958, p. 384).

It seems that the first contact with Ujjaini occurred in 399/1008 under Maḥmūd: در سنه تسع و تسعين و ثلات مايه بقصد ... عازم يورش هندوستان کردید واژ شنیدن اين خبر دود از نهاد انندپال (Anandpal) برخاسته از

[Gap of about 28 lines]

... patrimony from one to another ... the patrimony of Ujjainians  
through the oneness of the Lord of Heaven.

Nobody availed religion so much,  
Nobody travailed so much for religion.

This was the lot of none but the shāh Maḥmūd.

Slabs 17–36

[—| —] raft az jihān rūy tājt  
savāb az khudāvand-i gītī ba-yājt. †  
ham īn kard farzand-i vay bū sa'īd  
shah-i shāh-zāda amīr-i shahid.  
yakī khusrav-i burdbār u dilīr  
gah-i bazm abr [?] gah-i razm shīr.  
shabī gasht vay [—| —| —]  
[—| —| —| —| —]  
ba-nām u ... n [?] rāst 'ārī [?] jihāndāriy-u shāhiy-u sarvarī. †  
ba[d]išān kunad bār (?) rūy-i zamīn  
bar išān (?) kunad har kasī [——].

sahē šāh-zāda, amīr i šahid<sup>11</sup>  
yakē xusrav i burd-bār<sup>12</sup> u dilēr  
gahē bazm i abr<sup>13</sup> u gahē razm i šēr.  
sabi gašt vay h[ar ki ——| —]  
[—| —| —] ḡumdān u hirrān i 'ād<sup>14</sup>  
[—| —] rāsib i gā'irē  
jahān-dārē u šahē u sarvarē  
bad-išān kunad nāz rōy i zamīn  
bar išān kunad har kasē [āfarīn].

رایان هندوستان استمداد نمود. ایشان چون دفع ایداء مسلمانان [را] موجب ترقی درجات میدانستند لاجرم بقصد صواب [ثواب for] جمیع راجه‌ای هند و اطراف حتی راجه، اوچین (Ujjain) و کوالیار (Gwāliyār) و کالنجر (Kalinjar) و قنوج (Kannauj) و دهلي (Dihli) و اجمیر (Ajmar) در مقام مدد شدند

MUHAMMAD-QĀSIM FIRIŠTA, Tārīx i Firišta (Gulšān i Ibrāhīmī), Bombay 1823, p. 44 (cf. EI, under Maḥmūd b. Subugtīn).

In the interpretation of B. *az īn ba ān*, *ba ān* is almost impossible, as it would have been written in that remote age *bad-ān*.

<sup>11</sup> Nāṣir ad-Dīn Šāh, who was assassinated in 1896, is still known in Persia as Šāh i šahid.

<sup>12</sup> *burd-bār* corresponds to Arabic *ḥalim*; Ar. *ḥilm* = Pers. *burd-bārī*, considered by Moslems to be one of the highest ethical qualities.

<sup>13</sup> Here is a *miṣrā'* from Šaraf ad-Dīn Šafrava quoted by ŠAMS I QAIS RĀZĪ, Al-Mu'jam fī Ma'a'ir Aš'ārīl'-Ajām, Teheran 1338, p. 374 ای چو دریا سخنی چو

شیر شجاع 'O, you who are generous like the ocean, and valiant like a lion' *daryā* and *abr* are interchangeable symbols of generosity.

<sup>14</sup> I quote the passage from HITTI, op. cit., p. 57 about Ġumdān: "To another Ili-Shariḥa (Lisharḥ ibn-Yahṣub of Yāqūt), of the first century after Christ, is ascribed the most celebrated castle of 'the land of castles', as al-Yaman has been

... He went away, turned his face  
from the world,  
Obtained the reward from the Lord  
of the world.

His son Bū Sa'íd did likewise,  
A king son of a king, chief martyr.  
A sovereign patient and valiant  
at the time of the banquet a (ben-  
ficient) cloud (?) at the time of  
battle, a lion.

a conqueror, a king, a leader.

... (?)  
... (?)  
... (?)

He does ... (?) the face of the earth  
all people does ... to him (?).

...

Slabs 37-41

His son Bu Sa'íd—a king, son of a  
king, the martyr emir,<sup>15</sup> a sove-  
reign patient and valiant—did  
likewise: sometimes a banquet  
(benificial like that) of clouds,  
and sometimes a battle (like that)  
of lions.

The one who ... he was reduced to a  
prisoner of war (to a slave) ...  
... Ĝumdān and Hirrān of 'Ād.  
... a firm and powerful.

The face of the earth is proud of  
them,  
Everyone praises them.

As the meter most probably was  
*mutaq*, in the niches around the  
court, beginning with the first niche  
after the west platform and ending

called, Ghumdān in Ṣan'a'. As a measure of protection against Bedouin raids the urban Ḥimyarites found it necessary to erect well-fortified palaces. Al-Hamdāni, and following him Yāqūt, have left us detailed descriptions of Gh., though by their time it was but a gigantic ruin. The citadel, according to these geographers, had twenty stories ... The structure survived until the rise of Islam and was apparently destroyed in the course of the struggle which established Moslem supremacy in al-Yaman." According to YĀQŪT, *Mu'jam al-Buldān* the disturbance took place in the caliphate of Uthman. Hirrān, according to the same geographer, is one of the castles in the region of Damār (a small town situated ca. 40 Engl. miles south of Ṣan'a') in Yemen: *min ḥuṣūni Damārī bi l-Yamani*. The Arabic-Persian dictionary *Muntahā l-Irab*, Teheran 1297 H. has exactly the same explanation: قلعه ایست کسحاب نام ملکی از and concerning Damār the same dict. tells us بدمار یمن ملوک یمن و باسم او نامیده شده دهی که بردو منزلست از صنعت و آنرا ذمار کقطام هم کویند ... و قیل هواسم صنعت

Thus, both of them, Ĝumdān and Hirrān, near to each other belong to the buildings of 'Ād (Koran 26,128 f.) being situated in Yemen and to the *Iram dat l-'imād* (Koran 89,5). They are the very concept of total destruction, hence *jam-dān* in some Pers. dict. equivalent of 'abode of sorrow'.

<sup>15</sup> B. omits a word (حسی) between what he reads as *dil* and *gušāda*.

with the last before the one on the east, I try to interprete slabs 37–41 also in *mutaq.* and think my reading is justified through the coherence of the first three slabs.

*mujtass* (◦—◦—| ◦◦——|  
◦—◦—| ◦◦—) (?):  
... *dil u gushāda*<sup>15</sup>  
*ūrā mihmān kashid* ...<sup>17</sup>

... heart and open  
welcomed him as guest

*cu-radl i xasē u kusāra-x<sup>u</sup>arē*<sup>16</sup>  
[◦——| ◦] ō *rā muhimmān kašand*

like a base and mean [person], and a  
gleaner (or: eater of fragments)  
... the greats bear his ...  
(The poet describes perhaps the king  
(God or the Prophet); the others  
were extremely mean and insignifi-  
cant in comparison with him.)

#### Slabs 42–44

*mujtass* (◦—◦—| ◦◦——|  
◦—◦—| ◦◦—)(?):  
*az gil u āb*  
*nihād bar sar-i gardūn hazār*  
*ganj-i*<sup>17</sup> *girān.*  
... with clay and water  
He laid a thousand priceless trea-  
sures on the summit of heaven.

I have nothing special to add to  
this part.

#### Slabs 45–116

- 46: ... *bad-ū dād Maḥm[ūd]* (?)  
‘... Maḥmūd gave to him’  
47: ... *muslimānī* ‘... a Moslem’  
48: ... *tājī*<sup>18</sup> *u takht ki* ...  
‘... the crown and the throne  
which ...’

- 47: could be ‘being Moslem’ too.  
48: [◦——| ◦— ā] *mad-aš tāj u*  
*taxt / gah i* ... (*mutaq.?*)

49: *haibat-i ū*... ‘his majesty...’

It came ... crown and throne to  
him, at the time of ...  
49: [◦——| ◦—] *haibat i ō sipurd*  
(or: *sipard*) (*mutaq.*)  
... his majesty, entrusted (or:  
trampled)

<sup>16</sup> *kusāra* is translated *rēza* in Pers., hence *kusāra-x<sup>u</sup>ār=rēza-x<sup>u</sup>ār* ‘gleaner,  
the one who eats the remains and bread crumbs left on the tablecloth’.

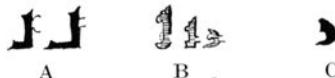
<sup>17</sup> *mihmān kašidān* ‘to welcome a guest’ does not exist in Pers.

<sup>18</sup> and <sup>19</sup> See above note 2.

- 50: ... *shud ba-farzand farzan[d]*  
     ‘... was the son to the son’
- 51: *nishasta* ... ‘seated ...’
- 61: *guzashta* ... ‘passed ...’
- 50: [ $\cup\_\_$ ] [ $\cup\_\_$ ] [ $\cup\_\_$ ] *nd šud /*  
     *ba farzan[d] i farzand i farzand<sup>20</sup>*  
     *šud † hamē ... (mutaq)*  
     ... [it] became (or: went) / it has  
     gone to the son of son’s son †  
     Always ...
- 51 and 61: *nišasta bar sar i* [ $\_\_$ ] [ $\cup\_\_$ ]  
     [ $\cup\_\_$ ] [ $\cup\cup\_\_$ ] (*mujt.*)  
     seated on the top ...
- gudašta az sar i* [ $\_\_$ ] [ $\cup\_\cup\_\_$ ]  
     [ $\cup\cup\_\_$ ]  
     passed above the top (or: the  
     end) ... (Both of these fragments  
     should pertain to the beginning of  
     two consecutive *misrā*’s from one  
     **bait**, or to two consecutive *baits*.)
- 52: *farzand shud. † Hamī* ‘was the  
     son ... †’
- 57: ... *kashīda-st* ... ‘... he has  
     drawn ...’
- 58: ... *buzurgān* ‘... the greats’
- 59: ... *du'ärā bar-in* ‘... invocation  
     (acc.) on this’
- 58: *buzurgān barāyi* (or: *ba rāy ō*)  
     [ $\cup\_\_$ ] [ $\cup\_\_$ ] (*mutaq*)  
     The greats for (or: through in-  
     sight and) ...
- 59: could also be *du'ā za'irin* ...  
     ... invocation, the pilgrims ...
- 61: see 51
- 62: *Katvār (?) chū himmat* ... ‘Kath-  
     iavār (?), as zeal ...’
- 62: rather: *kaivān cu himmat<sup>21</sup>*  
     (*mutaq*.)  
     ... Saturn, as zeal ...

<sup>20</sup> The official title of Mas'ūd III is 'Imād ad-Daula Mas'ūd b. Ibrāhīm b. Mas'ūd b. Maḥmūd (cf. ḤAMDALLĀH MUSTAUFĪ, Tārix i Guzīda, in E. J. W. Gibb Memorial Series, vol. XIV, Leyden–London 1910, p. 404). However Tārix i Firiṣṭa, p. 85 reports 'Alā' ad-Daula Mas. b. Ib. b. Mas. b. Maḥ.

<sup>21</sup> Here it is more probably a question of another type of N, -N (single or final) that occurs in the Kufic inscription of Cairo, Roda Island (A); Amida No. 9 Emir Ahmad (B); and No. 14 Emir Nasr (C) (cf. S. FLURY, op. cit., pl. I, III, VIII).



Thus, *kaivān* ‘the Planet Saturn, the sphere of Saturn, the seventh heaven’ synonymous with ‘the highest’, used in expressions like *kaivān-himmat* (= *buland-himmat*, *'ālī-himmat*), seems more justified to me than “*katvār* (Kathiāvar). It would better fit the meter *mutaqārib*, which forms presumably the major part of the inscription. CW (cū) should be considered short, otherwise it would have been written CWN and would agree with the meter *mujtattf*.

- 63: ... *kard* ... '... he did ...'  
       63: ... *kard nigār* (?) ...  
             (*mujt.*)  
             ... did paint (?) ...
- 64: ... *bālā* ... '... above ...'  
       64: *pālādan*<sup>22</sup> *as[t]* (or: *pālād bas[t]?*)  
             (= \_\_\_\_| \_\_\_\_ *mutaq.*)  
             ... is straining (or: bound the  
             horse?) (*lādan* 'gumm herb lada-  
             num' should be out of the ques-  
             tion.)
- 65: *shi'r* ... 'poetry ...'
- 66: ... *guft* ... '... said ...'  
       66: Probably: *nikū guft v'ar b[ad*  
             \_\_\_\_| \_\_\_\_]  
             (*mutaq.*)  
             He said well or not well ...
- 67: *tā'at i subh[ān]*  
       (= \_\_\_\_| \_\_\_\_ *muft.*)  
       obedience (or: worshipping) of  
       glorified [God]
- 68: '*ajam. † Ba-taufiq* ...: 'Persian. +  
       With the success ...'
- 69: ... *yaki za mu'jiza* '... one of the  
       miracles'
- 70: ... *sunnat-i mu'inān-i dīn* ...  
       '... the practice of the helpers of  
       the religion ...'
- 71: ... *qadim-ast* '... is ancient'
- 72: *dihad* ... 'he gives ...'
- 73: ... *rasīda takht* '... arrived, the  
       throne'
- 74: *chunīn daulat* ... 'such a luck ...'
- 69: *yakē zi mu'jizah[ā]*  
       (= \_\_\_\_| \_\_\_\_| \_\_\_\_ *muft.*)
- 70: Could rather be a *mutaq.*  
       ... *-mān sabab / mu'inān i dīn az*  
       [\_\_\_\_| \_\_\_\_]  
       ... the cause (or means) / the hel-  
       pers of the religion from (or:  
       through) ...
- 71: [*dā*] *t-aš qadīm ast*  
       (= \_\_\_\_| \_\_\_\_| \_\_\_\_ *muft.*)  
       ... His essence is uncreated ...
- 73: Rather:  
       *rasīda baxt*  
       (= \_\_\_\_| \_\_\_\_| \_\_\_\_ *muft.?*)  
       fortune arrived ...
- 74: *cunīn daulat ārē kuj[ā* \_\_\_\_]  
       (*muft.*)  
       such fortune, yea, how (or: where)  
       ...

<sup>22</sup> See above, note 9.

76: *khuld-i barīnat* ‘your superior

Paradise’

77: *bahr-i izzad* ‘for God’

78: *hamē bar kanad* (or: *pur kunad?*)

[—| ∪ —| ∪ —]

(*mutaq.*)

[he] uses to dig up (or: to fill?) ...

79: *kard* ... ‘he did ...’

80: [*bi-dā*] *nad* (or: [*na dā*] *nad*) *kasē k-*

[—| ∪ —| ∪ —]

(*mutaq.*)

Does know (or: does not know) the  
one who ...

81: ... *hind* ... ‘... India ...’

81: [—| ∪ —| ∪ —] *salātīn i hind*

(*mutaq.*)

... kings of India

82: ... *zamīn u zamān* † ... ‘space  
and time † ...’

84: [—| ∪ —| ∪ —] *mīzān i jumla-i*  
*ni'am*

... the rule (or: the right mesure)  
of all blessings.

85: ... *karīm bad-ū* ‘... generous to  
him’

85: *bāb i karīm / bad-ō* (= —| ∪ —;  
—| ∪ — *mutaq.*), (or: —| ∪ — ∪ —  
*mujt.*)

... the generous father to him ...

87: ... *qadīm* ‘... ancient’

88: ... *dil-i dushma[n]* ‘... the heart  
of the enemy’

89: *dalil i hastī i* [—| ∪ — ∪ —|  
—| ∪ —]  
(*mujt.?*)  
the proof for [His] existence ...

91: ... *khilāfat* ... ‘... the caliphate ...’

91: [*az ā*] *n pas xilāfat ba 'uṭmā[n*  
| ∪ —]  
(*mutaq.*)  
afterwards the caliphate ... to  
Uthman ...

92: ... *juvān shud* ... ‘... he was  
young ...’

92: ... [*gē*] *tī javān šud* ...  
(= —| ∪ — *mutaq.?*)  
... the world became young ...

93: ... 'ulūm-i shari'at '... the sciences of the canonic Law'

94: ... jamāl. † ... '... beauty. † ...'

95: † Rizā dād '† He consented'

97: shaqā'iq-i nu'mān: 'the anemone'

98: 'azīz-ast ... 'is dear ...'

98: *malik pur* 'azīz ast [ $\cup\_\_|\cup\_$ ]  
(*mutaq.*)

The king is very dear ...;

or:

[ $\cup\_\_|\cup\_\_|\cup\_\_$  *mulk bar* /  
'azīz ast |  $\_\_|\cup\_\_|\cup\_\_$ ]  
(*mutaq.*)

... upon the kingdom; is dear

99: ... *jūd u sakha* '... generosity and munificence'

100: *buvad ān gah ki*

( $=\cup\_\_|\cup\_$  *mujt.?*)

... there will be a time when ...

101: [a]shābī basī ... 'many companions ...'

101: *sahābī basē* (?)

( $=\cup\_\_|\cup\_$  *mutaq.*)

numerous companions (of Prophet, or their descendants)

102: *va kas dar ān 'ah[d]*  
‘and every one (or: no one!) in that epoch’

102: Perhaps: ... *u kas / dar ān 'ah*  
[ $d\_\_|\cup\_\_|\cup\_\_|\cup\_$ ]  
(*mutaq.*)

103: † *Hama 'ālimān* '† All doctors'

103: Or: † *hama-i 'ālamān* [ $\_\_| \cup\_\_|\cup\_$ ]  
(*mutaq.?*)  
† the whole world (pl.) ...

104: ... *va salām yakī madrasa*  
‘... and peace; a madrasah’

104: [ $\cup\_\_|\cup\_\_|\cup\_\_|\cup\_\_$ ] *burd u salām / yakē madrasa* [ $\_\_| \cup\_\_|\cup\_$ ]  
(*mutaq.?*)  
... [he] brought ... and greeting;  
a madrasah ...

105: *masjid shuda-st ān* 'it became a mosque'

106: ... *ḥukm* '... order'

107: ... *binā farmū[d]* '... he built'

107: [ $\cup\_\cup\_\_|\cup\_\_|\cup\_\_|\cup\_\_$ ] *yakē binā farmud*  
(*mujt.?*)  
He ordred [to build] a building ...

108: *chashma-i* ... 'a fountain ...'  
 109: ... *hazār* ... '... thousand ...'

111: *az zabān.* † *Ba-zūr* (?)  
 'from the tongue. † With force (?)'

112: ... *hamīsha* '... always'

114: ...*chū khuld-i barīn būd*  
 '... was as a superior Paradise ...'

115: *shahīd yak-chandī* ... 'martyr  
 some ones ...'

116: *az yād* (or: *az bād*) ...  
 'from the memory (or: from the  
 wind) ...'

110: *bar sitād* (or: *parastād*) (?)  
 ... stood up ... (or: worshipped,  
 served ...)

111: Perhaps: [˘—|˘—|˘—]  
*ar ziyān* † *ba rōz* [—|˘—|˘—]  
 —|˘—]  
 (*mutaq.*)  
 ... or damage † on the day ...

113: *śah nikū* (?)  
 ... king, good ...

114: [˘—|˘—] *cu xuld i barīn*  
 / *buvad ar basē* |—|˘—|˘—|˘—|  
 (*mutaq.*?)  
 ... like the upper paradise / may  
 be if many ...

115: Probably it is a question of  
 Mas'ūd I, *amīr i śahīd* (see above,  
 note 11) [˘—˘—|˘—] *amīr i*  
*śahīd yak candē*  
 (*mujt.*)  
 ... the Martyr Emir for a while ...

## IRAN B. JEWETT

### Matthew Arnold's Version of the Episode of Sohrab

The story of Sohrab has passed into English literature through the genius of Matthew Arnold, whose *Sohrab and Rustum* captures the spirit of the original in the *Shah Nameh*. As Arnold's poem was not a translation, and Arnold himself had no acquaintance with the *Shah Nameh* in Persian, enquiry into the sources of *Sohrab and Rustum* has remained confined to English scholars, and no attention has been lavished on it by Orientalists as was done on FitzGerald's *Rubáiyát*. While Arnold's source material was not Persian, and therefore not in the proper domain of the Orientalist, there is one particular aspect of his poem which should attract the attention of the student of the Persian classics—the version of the story of Sohrab that appears in Arnold's poem. There are certain peculiarities in Arnold's version that would appear significant only to someone familiar with the *Shah Nameh*. These discrepancies have not been investigated deeply, and up to now have been generally dismissed as poetic license. The fact is that these divergences in Arnold's story of Sohrab are based on definite sources; by locating these sources and examining them closely, one can not only understand why Arnold's version is different, but visualize as well the method by which Arnold put together the narrative elements of his poem. Arnold was careful not to reveal his process of selection when, in his note to the 1854 edition of his poems, he named his two sources, Sainte-Beuve's essay in *Causeries du Lundi* and Sir John Malcolm's *History of Persia*, and quoted the pertinent passages that he had used. The more recent editors of Arnold have mentioned his debt to both the *Causeries* and the *History*, and some have pointed out as well his borrowings from Sainte-Beuve's short essay. But as for Arnold's use of the *History*, which is a lengthy account in two volumes, the matter is left very vague. For example, a recent editor of Arnold's poems states, "Sainte-Beuve's essay was Arnold's main source, but Sir John Malcolm's *History of Persia* (1815) supplied background and the names of places and subsidiary characters not mentioned by Sainte-Beuve; other details, including the description of the

Oxus, are from Alexander Burnes's *Travels into Bokhara ...* (1834), already drawn on by A. for 'The Sick King in Bokhara' and 'The Strayed Reveller' ..."<sup>1</sup> A reader not acquainted at first hand with the *History* gets the impression that Arnold took these details from a more elaborate version of the story of Sohrab which must be given somewhere in the *History*, seeing that in the account of Sohrab in Malcolm referred to by Arnold himself as his source, several of the poem's subsidiary characters and the incidents connected with them do not appear at all. But there is no such elaborate account of Sohrab in the *History*; Malcolm touches upon the episode of Sohrab only once, in the footnote on pages thirty-six to thirty-eight of the first volume, which Arnold himself quoted. The opening chapters of the first volume of the *History* are based mostly on the *Shah Nameh* and deal with the exploits and adventures of the ancient heroes and kings of Persia; the process of selection of characters and background from the abundant details of the stories would certainly be laborious work. The question that remains to be answered is, how did Arnold select the details and names he wanted out of the several hundred pages and the several thousand stories of the *History of Persia*.

I shall not enter here into Arnold's borrowings from Burnes, Homer, and the Bible, as these features of his poem have been discussed adequately elsewhere.<sup>2</sup> I shall confine myself to Arnold's sources for the episodic elements of his poem (excluding the *Causuries*, which also has been sufficiently explored as already mentioned), and clarify in particular the vague generalisation regarding his use of Malcolm's *History* for "background and the names of subsidiary characters not mentioned by Sainte-Beuve". I shall show, what as far as I am aware has not been pointed out by anyone so far, that Arnold used in his version, incidents and names from other stories of the *Shah Nameh* given in the *History*. These details are not scattered over the two volumes of the *History*, as has been implied, but are contained in those seventeen pages of the fourth chapter of the first volume that follow the account of Sohrab, that is, pages thirty-eight to fifty-four. These pages deal with the main episode of Siawush, and describe the incidents that took place during the reign of Kai-Khosroo. By comparing these passages with Arnold's version, one can see how he arrived at his particular form of the story, and what

<sup>1</sup> *The Poems of Matthew Arnold*, ed. Kenneth Allott (New York, 1965), pp. 302–303.

<sup>2</sup> See C. B. Tinker and H. F. Lowry, *The Poetry of Matthew Arnold, a Commentary* (London, 1940), pp. 73–85.

method he used to find the different elements of this story, which he unified into a consistent narrative.

It would be helpful, first of all, to point out those features of Arnold's story of Sohrab that do not tally with the accounts given in his two sources, or for that matter, in any translation of the *Shah Nameh*, such as, for example, James Atkinson's translation, in an abridged form in prose, and in detail in verse, well known at the time Arnold wrote *Sohrab and Rustum*. It should be remembered that the two accounts Arnold used as sourcee, except for a variation in Malcolm's account which I shall point out, both follow the form of the story given in the *Shah Nameh*, though in a very abridged form. Hence, Arnold's divergences from the original version pertain to these two accounts as well. Arnold's most obvious departure from the traditional form is in the name of the Persian king. In the original, Kai Kaus is the Persian king, whereas in Arnold's poem his name is Kai-Khosroo. Peran-Wisa, that gray-haired and wise leader of the Tartars in Arnold's poem who counsels Sohrab against seeking his father on the field of battle, does not appear at all in the original story; neither does Feraburz, who is the Uncle of the King in Arnold's poem. Ferood, the leader of the Persians in Arnold, is also not mentioned in either of Arnold's sources. The opening scene in Arnold, which acquaints the reader with the background of the story, and reveals the affection between Peran-Wisa and Sohrab, is not to be found in the two sources or in any translation. There are also no such incidents as Peran-Wisa's proposal, in Arnold's poem, of single combat between the champions of the two armies, and Sohrab's last prophecy of his father's death. Arnold may have used his imagination to embellish these scenes, but the incidents and names that he used were those that he found in pages thirty-eight to fifty-four of the *History*.

It might be interesting here to try to reconstruct Arnold's method of reference. We can see, by comparing Arnold's poem with his two sources, that he took the framework of his story from Malcolm's account. Not only are Arnold's spellings the same as Malcolm's, but he has also adopted Malcolm's version that Rustum believed he had a daughter and not a son. Those who are familiar with the *Shah Nameh* know that this "daughter" version is not Firdausi's, for in the Persian epic, Rustum knows that he has a son. What he does not know is that Sohrab is the son, who, Rustum thought, was too young to be a warrior. The "daughter" version is a later interpolation that appears in an abridgment of the *Shah Nameh* prepared in the eleventh century by Tavakkul Beg for his

patron Shumshir Khan, the governor of Ghaznin. Tavakkul Beg's epitome, known as the *Muntakhube Shah Nameh*, or sometimes as the *Shumshir Khani Shah Nameh*, was very well known, and Malcolm apparently used it as source without being aware of the discrepancy with the original. Arnold followed Malcolm's "daughter" account in preference to the original "son" version given in Sainte-Beuve's essay. Arnold may have regarded the "daughter" version as more dramatic; or perhaps it may be that having once noted down the various elements of his story, he did not check his sources for accuracy. There is little doubt that Arnold was more interested in the successful completion of the poem while the inspiration was alive, than in the accuracy of his account. As he confessed to his sister while the poem was under his hand, he feared to "spoil it by being obliged to strike it off in fragments, instead of at one heat."<sup>3</sup> Knowing how intricately the stories and sub-stories of the *Shah Nameh* are woven together, one can understand Arnold's predicament. As Tinker and Lowry point out in the *Commentary*, "He felt the grandeur of the great Persian myth, but could not bring himself to the weary task of going through Malcolm's *Persia* or of reading Ferdousi's poems in translation. He feared to lose the impulse which he had received."<sup>4</sup>

To understand Arnold's difficulty, one should look at the two sources he used. In Malcolm's short sketch of Sohrab's career, in addition to the names of the father and son, only three minor characters are mentioned: Haman, the commander of the Tartars, Afrasiab, the king of the Tartars, and Zoarrah, the Persian warrior. In the *Causeries*, among the minor characters only Sohrab's mother is mentioned by name. Arnold needed to find a cast of supporting characters whose interrelationship of action and emotion would breathe life into the story. The names and incidents that he found in his two sources were not sufficient to fulfill the requirements of his poem. He did not wish to consult a translation and get involved in a welter of names, exploits, and combats. He did the next best thing; he tried to find what he needed in the other stories of the *Shah Nameh* given in the *History* in a very abridged form. He knew his version would not be accurate, but he may have thought that his borrowings from other stories would not be noticed, or if noticed, would be excused on grounds of poetic licence.

<sup>3</sup> *Letters of Matthew Arnold*, collected and arranged by George W. E. Russell (London, 1895), Vol. 1, p. 34.

<sup>4</sup> Tinker and Lowry, p. 85.

To retrace what must have been Arnold's steps, one should open the first volume of the *History of Persia* (1815) at page thirty-six; here the story of Sohrab starts in a footnote, and is continued through page thirty-seven to page thirty-eight, where it ends. Turning a few leaves, one finds on page fifty-one, two short columns of names in a footnote, listing in capital letters Persian warriors on one side and Tartars on the other. Gudurz heads the list of Persians, Peran-Wisa of the Tartars. The list pertains to a battle which takes place in the main episode of Siawush. In the same list, the third name on the Persian side is that of "Feraburz, uncle to Kai Khoosroo". Now, remembering that in Malcolm's account of Sohrab, which Arnold himself quoted as his source, the leader of the Tartars is Haman, and the name of Peran-Wisa is nowhere mentioned, nor that of Ferood, nor of Feraburz, who in Arnold's poem is described thus:

... Feraburz, who rul'd the Persian host  
Second, and was the uncle of the King:  
(ll. 172-173)

And again, noting that in Malcolm's account of Sohrab, Zoarrah, by implication, is second in command after Rustum, and is described as having "attended, on the part of Roostum, to see that this engagement was respected by the Persians" (footnote, p. 37), the conclusion is unavoidable that Arnold was using the list on page fifty-one as reference for his dramatis personae.

Having found a cast of supporting characters, Arnold had to select incidents and actions connected with them. Peran-Wisa's name first appears on page forty in the *History* as the vizier of Afrasiab. In a footnote on the same page, he is described as the Nestor of the Tartars. Says Malcolm: "His reputation for wisdom and goodness is such, that over all Asia, those that are sage in council, are, to this day, compared by flatterers to Peran-Wisa." On this same page is described the marriage of Siawush to the daughter of Peran-Wisa. Malcolm starts the main episode of Siawush on page thirty-eight, and in the course of the episode the succession of Kai-Khosroo to the kingship of Persia is described. In the story of Siawush, the saintly prince who was Kai Kaus's favourite son, Peran-Wisa appears prominently. In the episode, Peran-Wisa saves the life of Siawush's infant son Kai-Khosroo from the jealous intrigues of his grandfather, Afrasiab. Peran-Wisa becomes the young man's friend and advisor, and is loved as a father by the orphan prince. On page forty-one,

Malcolm recounts how Peran-Wisa saves the child from death, names it Kai-Khosroo, and takes care that "it should have, in a secret manner, an education suited to its high birth and future destiny." He also advises Kai-Khosroo how to conduct himself before the king so as not to arouse his suspicions. When Peran-Wisa falls in combat with Gudurz, on page fifty-two, and his corpse is laid before Kai-Khosroo, the king "forgot the murder of his father, Siawush, in mourning over the remains of the preserver and the protector of his youth". One can see now where Arnold found inspiration for the opening scene in his poem where Sohrab comes to Peran-Wisa's tent seeking advice, and the wise old man talks to him as he would to a son. Needless to repeat, there is no such scene in the episode of Sohrab.

Following the meeting between Sohrab and Peran-Wisa in Arnold's poem, comes the description of the two armies marshalled in opposing ranks. Peran-Wisa, "threading the Tartar squadrons to the front" addresses the Persians and Tartars:

"Let there be truce between the hosts today.  
But choose a champion from the Persian lords  
To fight our champion Sohrab, man to man."  
(ll. 151-153)

On pages fifty and fifty-one of the *History*, Peran-Wisa is described as engaged in opposing an expedition by Gudurz. On page fifty-one, Peran-Wisa sends a message to the Persian leader saying: "Can the life of Siawush, for whom so much blood has already been shed, be restored by the further destruction of armies? Let us close this sanguinary contest by combats between heroes, and spare the further effusion of the blood of soldiers." This passage occurs on the same page, fifty-one, that the list appears, and again, there is no such incident in the story of Sohrab.

Ferood is described in Arnold's poem (line 144) as the leader of the Persians. He is not mentioned at all in the two accounts of Sohrab in Malcolm and Sainte-Beuve. But his name appears on page forty-five of the *History*, where he is mentioned as "the brother of Kai Khosroo", a relationship, which Arnold must have thought, entitled him to the leadership of the Persian army.

The reign of Kai-Khosroo, which starts in Malcolm on page forty-three, ends on page fifty-four. Here he is described as going to a spring accompanied by some nobles. He disappears, and "all those that went with him were destroyed on their return by a violent tempest". This

incident apparently is what Arnold's Sohrab is referring to when, at the point of death, he tells his grieving father:

"But thou shalt yet have peace; only not now:  
Not yet: but thou shalt have it on that day,  
When thou shalt sail in a high-masted Ship,  
Thou and the other peers of Kai-Khosroo,  
Returning home over the salt blue sea,  
From laying thy dear Master in his grave."

(ll. 829-834)

In the original story, Rustum of course does not die till much later. But the incident described in Malcolm of the disappearance of Kai-Khosroo and the death of the Persian nobles provided Arnold with a last dramatic utterance for Sohrab. The episodic elements of Arnold's poem end with this passage; the remainder of *Sohrab and Rustum* is given to the description of Sohrab's death, and the famous account of the Oxus. Page fifty-four of the *History*, then, must have been the last page of reference for Arnold as far as the story of his poem is concerned. As most of the details and names that Arnold borrowed came from the reign of Kai-Khosroo, Arnold must have decided to be consistent by placing the story of Sohrab during the kingship of Kai-Khosroo rather than in that of Kai-Kaus as in the original story.

In regard to Arnold's choice of Gudurz as the man who persuades Rustum to fight, there is no direct reference to Gudurz by name in either Malcolm or Sainte-Beuve, though in the original story it is Gudurz who goes to Rustum. In Malcolm's account, the incident is not mentioned at all; in Sainte-Beuve, the incident is referred to very briefly, but the man is not named. (*Causeries*, vol. 1, p. 275.<sup>5</sup>) One can but conjecture as to how Arnold came to select Gudurz for the mission. He may have read the story of Sohrab in translation and remembered Gudurz's name. A better reason for Arnold's selection of Gudurz would be the list on page fifty-one, from which he must have taken the names of Peran-Wisa and Feraburz. Gudurz heads the list of Persian warriors; as one of the leaders, he would be the man most likely to speak to Rustum on an equal footing.

To summarize, from the testimony of the poem itself, there seems little doubt that the parts of Arnold's story which cannot be traced to either of the two accounts, Malcolm's and Sainte-Beuve's, that he

<sup>5</sup> The edition referred to is the 1852 Paris edition in two volumes.

acknowledged as his sources, belong to those seventeen pages of the fourth chapter of the *History* that follow the footnote on Sohrab. These pages, thirty-eight to fifty-four, deal with the main episode of Siawush and describe the events that took place during the reign of Kai-Khosroo. From these abridged stories of the *Shah Nameh*, Arnold selected the names and details that he considered appropriate for his poem *Sohrab and Rustum*, and thus created his own version of this famous episode from the Persian epic.

CARL NYLANDER

## Who Wrote the Inscriptions at Pasargadae?

### Achaemenian Problems. III

1. The problem of the Achaemenian script
2. The Pasargadae inscriptions
3. The number of the Pasargadae inscriptions
4. Achaemenian royal titles
5. Observations on CMa and CMc
6. Conclusion I
7. Significance of the CMb-DMa inscription
8. Pasargadae Fragment No. 5
9. Conclusion II

#### 1. The Problem of the Achaemenian Script

The Old Persian script, created for the hitherto unwritten language of a new great power, was the last of the cuneiform systems of the ancient

Two earlier studies on "Achaemenian Problems" have appeared in the American Journal of Archaeology (69: 1965, with additions 70: 1966) and the Iranica Antiqua (6: 1966).

The preoccupation with the problems connected with the Old Persian script arose from a study of the monument chronology at Pasargadae. The results of a critical analysis of the discussion on Behistun § 70 and the Pasargadae material were first put forth in an unpublished thesis at Uppsala University in 1963. Recent and exhaustive discussions of Behistun § 70 by various eminent scholars now enable me to concentrate mainly upon other aspects than the purely philological hitherto dominant. Valuable discussions with several Uppsala colleagues have much improved my thinking on these problems, esp. important suggestions from Prof. H. S. NYBERG and Dr. S. BRUNNSÄKER. Much important research in this field has been done by Soviet, Polish and Hungarian scholars. As a modest token of respect and appreciation a summary in Russian has been added to this article, not without the hope that our eastern colleagues may thus be incited to facilitate the research of their fellow scholars in other countries by providing their works with similar summaries. I heartily thank Mr. N. B. THELIN for kindly translating my summary into Russian and Mrs. J. GRAY for revising my English.

A list of the abbreviations used in this article is given on p. 178.

Near East.<sup>1</sup> The problems of its genesis and relations to other scripts, both within the cuneiform area and the West Semitic alphabetic systems, have been much discussed without any resulting agreement.<sup>2</sup> Another hotly debated question is the date of its creation, before or after 530 b.c. This may at first sight seem to be one of those pseudoproblems which divert the scholar's attention from deeper and more essential historical questions. Yet it is not so. The date of the introduction of the Achaemenian script is important for a number of problems concerning early Iran, e.g. the correct interpretation of a central passage in the Behistun inscription, and the right understanding of one of the most important historical texts from the ancient Near East; the role of Darius as an innovator and his attitude to the rival, Cyrus branch of the Achaemenid dynasty; working praxis in the Achaemenian chancelleries; the problems connected with the Ariaramnes and Arsames texts and, especially, the authenticity of the inscriptions in Cyrus' name in the palaces at Pasargadae and their value as sources for Cyrus' reign, his literacy, his politics and his architectural activities.

The problem can be stated shortly: is Darius right when he seems to refer, in the concluding § 70 of the original Behistun text, to something radically new in connection with this inscription—"in Aryan that formerly was not"; does this refer to the introduction of the Achaemenian cuneiform script, and how are we then to understand and treat the extant Pasargadae inscriptions in Cyrus' name? And if, on the other

<sup>1</sup> A. MEILLET & E. BENVENISTE, Grammaire du Vieux-Persé (1931)<sup>2</sup> 37–46.

R. KENT, OP, 9–24.

M. COHEN, La grande invention de l'écriture et son évolution (1958) 107–110.

I. GELB, Von der Keilschrift zum Alphabet (1958)<sup>2</sup> 172–175.

H. JENSEN, Die Schrift in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart (1958)<sup>2</sup> 95–106.

W. BRANDENSTEIN & M. MAYRHOFER, HbAp, 17–26.

H. MITTELBERGER, Die Sprache 11: 1965, 93–121.

J. FRIEDRICH, Geschichte der Schrift (1966) 98–101.

<sup>2</sup> F. WEISSBACH, KIA, LIV–LX, with earlier discussions. Cf. also works listed n. 1. E. HERZFELD, H. AMI 3: 1931, 88 f.

H. PAPER, JCS 4: 1950, 196; JAOS 76: 1956, 24.

J. H. KRAMERS, Analecta Orientalia I (1954) 251 f.

J. KURYLOVICZ, Esquisses Linguistiques (1960) 274 ff.

R. N. FRYE, The Heritage of Persia (1962) 74 f.

M. A. DANDAMAEV, D. IppA, 47 ff.

A. L. KAMMENHUBER, ZDMG 115: 1965, 402 f.

H. MITTELBERGER, Die Sprache 11: 1965, 94 f.

hand, the Cyrus texts can be shown to be genuine, how is the Behistun passage to be reinterpreted to make sense? Or are we asking the wrong questions, which, maybe, result in a contradiction more apparent than real?

The discussions about this problem have been manifold, dramatic and not rarely bitter.<sup>3</sup> On the one hand, scholars have relied upon the wording of the Behistun inscription, and the assumption that Darius introduced the Achaemenian cuneiform script seemed confirmed by Greek sources, especially the so-called 21st Themistokles letter.<sup>4</sup> On the other hand, their opponents have referred continuously to apparently older material,

<sup>3</sup> Most of the earlier discussions is found in KIA, LIV–LXIX; OP, *passim*; D.IppA, 32 ff. In the following is given only a bibliography of works published after 1950.

- 1951: E. BENVENISTE, "Etudes sur le vieux-perse — Sur la technique de l'écrit." *Bulletin de la Société Linquistique de Paris* 47: 1951, 40–50.  
 W. STRUVE, "Reforma pismennosti pri Darii I". *VDI* 81: 1951, 186–191.  
 1952: W. HINZ, "Die Einführung der altpersischen Schrift". *ZDMG* 102: 1952, 28–38.  
 1953: J. HARMATTA, "A recently discovered Old Persian inscription". *AA* 2: 1953, 1–16.  
 1954: J. LEWY, "The Problems inherent in the section 70 of the Behistun inscription". *Hebrew Union College Annual* 25: 1954, 169–208.  
 1956: H. PAPER, "The Old Persian L-phoneme". *JAOS* 76: 1956, 24 f.  
 I. M. DIAKONOV, *Istoria Midii* (1956) 366 ff.  
 1958: Cf. works by M. COHEN, I. GELB and H. JENSEN mentioned n. 1.  
 1959: R. BORGER & W. HINZ, "Eine Dareios-Inschrift in Pasargadae". *ZDMG* 109: 1959, 117–125.  
 1960: J. KURYŁOWICZ, "Zur altpersischen Keilschrift" (*Esquisses Linguistiques*, 274 ff.).  
 I. M. ORANSKIJ, *Vvedenie v iranskuju filologiju* (1960) 130–135.  
 1963: C. NYLANDER, "Bemerkungen zu einem Inschriftfragment in Pasargadae". *Or. Suec.* 11: 1962, 121–125 (printed 1963).  
 M. A. DANDAMAEV, D.IppA, 32–60; "Problema drevnopersidskoj pismennosti". *Epigrafika Vostoka* 15: 1963, 24–35.  
 1964: I. M. DIAKONOV, rev. of D.IppA. *VDI* 1964: 3, 177–179.  
 W. BRANDENSTEIN & M. MAYRHOFER, *HbAp*, 17–26.  
 1965: R. GHIRSHMAN, "A propos de l'écriture cuneiforme vieux-perse". *JNES* 24: 1965, 244–250.  
 1966: I. M. ORANSKIJ, "Neskolkо заметјаниј k вопросу о времени введеніје древнopersidskoj klinopisi". *VDI* 1966: 2, 107–116.  
 J. HARMATTA, "The Bisitun inscription and the introduction of the Old Persian cuneiform script". *AA* 14: 1966, 255–283.  
<sup>4</sup> F. WEISSBACH, W. HINZ, M. A. DANDAMAEV, W. BRANDENSTEIN & M. MAYR-

especially the Cyrus inscriptions at Pasargadae.<sup>5</sup> Various early attempts to ascribe these to Cyrus the Younger, brother of Artaxerxes II, were rendered futile by the energetic research of E. HERZFELD, who explored the remains at Pasargadae from an archaeological and art-historical point of view and convincingly demonstrated the pre-Persepolis date of the ruins and their sculptural decoration.<sup>6</sup> Consequently, the inscriptions on these ruins in Cyrus' name ought to have been written by the great Cyrus himself. HERZFELD seemed to score an additional point at the discovery of two inscriptions from Hamadan in the names of Darius' ancestors Ariaramnes and Arsames.<sup>7</sup> Now it seemed clear that the Achaemenid script had been invented and used a long time before Darius. However, observations on the careless treatment of Old Persian grammar in these inscriptions tended to show them to be unhistorical, late Achaemenian compositions made *ad hoc* to enhance the glory of the then ruling branch of the dynasty.<sup>8</sup> This seemed a severe blow to the

HOFER, J. KRAMERS, *Analecta Orientalia I* (1954) 281.

K. HOFFMANN, *HbOr IV* (1958) 1.

O. KLÍMA, rev. *HbAp. Archiv Orientalní* 33: 1965, 282.

A. L. KAMMENHUBER, rev. H. S. NYBERG, *Hilfsbuch des Pehlevi<sup>2</sup>*. ZDMG 115: 1965, 401.

W. HENNING, I. GERSCHEVITCH (information from W. HINZ).

The Greek sources are assembled and discussed, with reference to earlier work, by M. A. DANDAMAEV, *D.IppA*, 36 ff., 52 ff., 60; *Epigrafika Vostoka* 15: 1963, 24 ff. For the Themistokles letter cf. below n. 16.

<sup>5</sup> E. HERZFELD, *Klio* 8: 1908, 65 ff.; ZDMG 64: 1910, 63 f.; H.AHI, 48.

E. MEYER, *Papyrusfund*, 100 f.

H. SCHÄDER, *Iranische Beiträge* (1930) 95.

H. BAILEY, *BSOS* 6: 1930–32, 765.

R. KENT, *OP*, 12.

J. P. ASMUSSEN, *Historiske Tekster fra Achemenidetiden* (1960) 35.

W. NAGEL, *AfO* 20: 1963, 129.

W. EILERS, *Beiträge zur Namensforschung* 15: 1964, 183, n. 9.

J. LEWY, I. M. DIAKONOV, R. GHIRSHMAN, C. NYLANDER, M. I. ORANSKIJ *et al.*

<sup>6</sup> *Klio* 8: 1908, 1–68; H.IF, 147–186.

<sup>7</sup> H.AMI 2: 1930, 117–127.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. the bibliography in R. KENT, "The Oldest Old Persian Inscriptions".

JAOS 66: 1946, 202–212. Cf. also *D.IppA*, 41 f.; E. A. HAHN, JAOS 85: 1965, 55 f.

For a contrary opinion, cf. A. MEILLET & E. BENVENISTE, *Grammaire du Vieux Perse* (1931)<sup>2</sup> 1 f.; I. M. ORANSKIJ, *VDI* 1966: 2, 108 f. and A. OLMSTEAD, *History of the Persian Empire* (1948) 24; R. GHIRSHMAN, *Iran* (1954) 125.

E. H. STURTEVANT suggested that the grammatical faults in the Achaemenian

supporters of a pre-Darius use of the Old Persian script, but there was still the presence of a number of inscriptions in Cyrus' name.

The pre-Darius school had also suggested various ingenious reinterpretations of the crucial § 70 to account for Darius' mention of some innovation connected with writing. One idea was that the novelty consisted in the use of some new writing materials, actually mentioned in the inscription; another that both the content and the monumentality of the Behistun inscription, the only truly historical monument left by the Achaemenids, could well and plausibly be characterized as something "noch nie dagewesenes" and thus stressed accordingly.<sup>9</sup> But the most important suggestion was that Darius might not have referred to the Old Persian cuneiform script but to a use of the Aramaic alphabet for the Old Persian language.<sup>10</sup> This seemed to be confirmed by HERZFELD's discovery of an Old Persian text written with Aramaic letters below the tomb of Darius I at Naqsh-i-Rustem.<sup>11</sup> Some scholars, however, now date this inscription to Hellenistic times, reading in the very mutilated text the word *slwk* (Seleucus).<sup>12</sup>

All the time many scholars maintained their belief in Darius as the

inscriptions may be attributed to a use of Babylonian speaking scribes; cf. "The Misuse of Case Forms in the Achaemenian Inscriptions". JAOS 48: 1928, 66–73. Contra, D.IppA 41, n. 35.

<sup>9</sup> E. BENVENISTE, Bull. Soc. Ling. Univ. Paris 47: 1951, 46.

F. KÖNIG, Kloxo 4: 1938, 46 ff.

G. CAMERON, PTT, 28.

J. P. ASMUSSEN (cf. n. 5) 66.

I. M. DIAKONOV, M. I. ORANSKIJ, R. GHIRSHMAN opp. citt.

<sup>10</sup> E. HERZFELD, Klio 8: 1908, 67 f.; H.AHI, 48.

E. MEYER, Papyrusfund, 100 ff.

H. SCHÄDER, Iranische Beiträge (1930), 210 ff.

J. FRIEDRICH, "Einige Kapitel aus der inneren Geschichte der Schrift".

Archiv für Schreib- und Buchwesen 2: 1935, 15, n. 1.

V. STRUVE, VDI 1951:3, 90 f.

LEWY, 183 ff.

<sup>11</sup> ZDMG 80:1926, 244; H.API, 4, 12, Abb. 6, pl. 4; H.AHI, 48.

F. ALTHEIM, Weltgeschichte Asiens (1947) 37 ff.

G. CAMERON, PTT, 29.

<sup>12</sup> W. HENNING, HbOr IV (1958) 24.

F. ALTHEIM & R. STIEL, Die Aramäische Sprache unter den Achämeniden (1960) 10 ff.

Cf. R. N. FRYE, The Heritage of Persia (1962) 204, n. 90.

originator of the Old Persian cuneiform script and alleged that the Cyrus inscriptions at Pasargadae had been engraved later by Darius to honour his great predecessor.<sup>13</sup> In 1959 the main advocate of this theory, W. HINZ, republished and discussed, together with R. BORGER, an inscription from Palace P at Pasargadae which, though very fragmentary, was thought to show that Darius did actually have an inscription engraved in the palace and even state the fact that Cyrus did not do so.<sup>14</sup> To HINZ this was the definite proof of the correctness of his and others' view, as the main obstacle to his theory, the Pasargadae inscriptions, could now plausibly be ascribed to later times on Darius' own testimony. HINZ concluded that the only authentic inscriptions of Cyrus himself are three Akkadian texts found in Mesopotamia. Several scholars have followed HINZ. But not everybody has been convinced.<sup>15</sup> In the following pages I intend to discuss some aspects of this problem, neither with the pretence nor with the hope of offering what will be accepted by all as a final solution to this long debated question. What will be given is not an exhaustive and critical discussion of the current arguments on Behistun § 70, recently so thoroughly reviewed by M. A. DANDAMAEV, M. I. DIAKONOV, I. M. ORANSKIJ and J. HARMATTA, but rather a presentation of some hitherto not fully exploited points of view that may offer some new possibilities to the discussion.

The account of the research on the Achaemenian script given above makes it clear, that the principal points for the problem are two: Behistun § 70 and the Pasargadae inscriptions. Unfortunately there is no other evidence hitherto discussed that may help us far on our way, neither the Themistokles letter and other Greek sources, nor the arguments based on evidence indicative of the use or influence of Aramaic.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>13</sup> This was first suggested by J. PRAŠEK, Geschichte der Meder und Perser (1910) 4.

<sup>14</sup> ZDMG 109: 1959, 117–125.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. n. 5. J. LEWY, I. M. DIAKONOV, J. KURYŁOWICZ, I. M. ORANSKIJ, C. NYLANDER, R. GHIRSHMAN.

<sup>16</sup> The apocryphal 21st Themistokles letter (from Roman times) has often been thought to shed light upon the problems here discussed (R. HERCHER, Epistolographi Graeci (1873) 762, No. 21). Themistokles is asking a friend to send some precious vessels: ἐφ' οἷς ἐπιγέγραπται τὰ Ἀσσύρια τὰ παλαιὰ γράμματα, οὐχ ἡ Δαρεῖος ὁ πατὴρ Ξέρξου Πέρσαις ἔναγκος ἔγραψε. The distinction here made between “ta assýria ta palaiá grámmata” and those recently written by Darius has been taken by the two opposing schools to refer to either the Old Persian

A recent attempt at a functional analysis of the phonology of the Old Persian script system seems to open up some new and interesting possibilities, but the resulting arguments for a certain development within the Old Persian cuneiform script before reaching its final shape have not yet been sufficiently commented upon although some criticism has been voiced.<sup>17</sup> The main efforts of all the scholars, who have devoted their talents and learning to this problem, have thus been concentrated upon

cuneiform script in contrast to the older Assyro-Babylonian writing or to the Aramaic script as opposed to the Old Persian. The problem is not easily solved, as Greek authors seem to use "assýria grámmata" indiscriminately in a general sense of "Oriental writing", sometimes referring to cuneiform script (Her. IV:87; Diod. II:13, 2; Strabo XIV:5, 9; Arrian II:5, 1), sometimes to Aramaic (Thuc. IV:50; Diod. XIX:23,3, XIX:96,1; Eg. papyrus, cf. E. MEYER, Kleine Schriften II (1924) 96). The Themistokles letter has thus been taken to corroborate both theories while actually confirming none. The interesting problems connected with this letter cannot be further discussed in this connection. Cf. E. HERZFELD, Klio 8:1908, 66 ff.; F. WEISSBACH, KIA, LXII f.; E. MEYER, Papyrusfund, 100 f.; Kleine Schriften II (1924) 96; V. STRUVE, VDI 1951:3, 189 f.; LEWY, 184 ff.; D.IppA, 52 ff., and the writer's forthcoming study 'ΑΣΣΥΡΙΑ ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΑ—Remarks on the 21st "letter of Themistokles", Opuscula Atheniensia VIII (1968).

The Naqsh-i-Rustem inscription seems to contain, according to a recent investigation by W. HENNING (cf. n. 12) the word *slwk*, i.e. Seleucus, which would cause a redating of this text to Hellenistic times. One may hesitate, however, to accept as final his verdict that this is a unique and non-recurrent experiment with Aramaic writing for the Old (or early Middle-) Persian language. There may well have been other and earlier instances of this use; cf. F. ALTHEIM & R. STIEL, Die Aramäische Sprache unter den Achämeniden (1960), 10 ff.; A. GOETZE, Berytus 8:1944, 97–101.

In this connection reference should be made to an interesting suggestion by E. HERZFELD concerning certain scribal errors in the Elvend inscriptions of Darius and Xerxes (DE, XE). There Bab. MAJRUTU (= O.P. PARVANĀM "of the former") is written instead of Bab. MADUTU (= O.P. PARUNĀM "of the many"), cf. KIA 101, 117. This strange deviation from the traditional formulae was explained by HERZFELD, very elegantly, as the scribe's faulty translation into Babylonian of an Old Persian PARUNĀM written with Aramaic letters פָּרֻוְנָם or פָּרֻוְנָמָּה ?, because mixing up the two words PARUNĀM–PARVANĀM, which in Aramaic would have been written identically; cf. H.AHI, 48; H.API, 151 f. 270; LEWY, 184, but also H. MITTELBERGER, Die Sprache 11:1965, 111 ff. (ref. by Mrs. G. HÄGG).

<sup>17</sup> J. KURYLOWICZ (1960), cf. n. 3. Cf. also I. GELB, Von der Keilschrift zum Alphabet (1958), 174 f. and H.AMI 3:1930, 88; 8:1937, 12. KURYLOWICZ' arguments seem unacceptable to W. BRANDENSTEIN & M. MAYRHOFER (HbAp, 18, n. 4) because of the "durchaus glaubwürdige Aussage des Darius", and are criticized by H. MITTELBERGER, Die Sprache 11:1965, 98 ff.

the difficult § 70 with its sometimes desperately fragmentary text and partly unknown vocabulary.<sup>18</sup> Though discussed and analyzed by many competent specialists the Behistun passage has failed so far to give a sense that could be accepted by all interested. It seems clear, that, whatever attitude we may adopt to its interpretation and the sense given to certain rare expressions in the Elamite text (TUPPI-ME, DAAEIKKI, SAPIŠ etc.), the Behistun text in itself cannot yet be said to prove once and for all to everybody's satisfaction that Darius introduced the Achaemenian cuneiform script.<sup>19</sup> There is in the text a claim

<sup>18</sup> Cf. especially the works and discussions after 1950, based on G. CAMERON's new readings on the rock of Behistun; G. CAMERON, JCS 5:1951, 52 and R. KENT, ibid. 55 f.; JAOS 72:1952, 13 ff.; OP, 130 ff. Cf. also the works mentioned n. 3: E. BENVENISTE, W. HINZ, V. STRUVE, J. LEWY, M. A. DANDAMAEV, M. I. ORANSKIJ, I. M. DIAKONOV, J. HARMATTA.

<sup>19</sup> The problems connected with text and interpretation have recently been exhaustively discussed by J. HARMATTA, thanks to whom a detailed discussion can here be dispensed with. On one point, however, some further comments seem appropriate. One of the first, though perhaps overestimated, problems confronting the student of § 70 is how to interpret the Elamite word TUPPI-ME, generally derived ultimately from Sum. DUB = "tablet, inscription" (but cf. W. HINZ, ZDMG 115:1965, 395), to the root of which has been added the Elamite abstract suffix -ME (cf. R. LABAT, Conférences de l'Institut de Linguistique de l'Université de Paris 10:1951, 32; H. PAPER, The Phonology and Morphology of Royal Achaemenid Elamite (1955) 84 ff.). Most scholars have taken TUPPI-ME to mean "inscription", while W. HINZ and others prefer "script". Another group thinks of "document", "text", "narration", "report" or the like. Now, the "inscription" theory does not take in account the addition of the -ME suffix, as there can be no doubt that the word TUPPI, used several times in Behistun (El. Col. III, lines 66–7, 70, 84, 85, 88), actually means "inscription". Thus the additional -ME suffix must convey some other, though related, meaning to the word. Neither a close reading of the whole context of § 70 nor a look at other Elamite evidence for TUPPI-ME will permit one to accept HINZ' doubtful and ambiguous *ad hoc* use of TUPPI-ME as "Schrift" in the sense of "writing system". Here the arguments advanced by J. LEWY, J. HARMATTA and others against HINZ' interpretation are welcome and convincing (the same criticism was voiced by the writer in the unpublished thesis from 1963).

On the other hand, one may question HARMATTA's own interpretation of TUPPI-ME as "inscription" in a collective sense. It is true, that the collective sense given by him—and others—to the Elamite abstract suffix -ME would suit *some* of the Elamite texts containing TUPPI-ME. But so would other interpretations too. And, in my opinion, the collective sense suggested is definitely disproved by two royal inscriptions of Queen Napir-Asu and Shilhak-Inshushinak. On the statue of Napir-Asu there is but *one* inscription—in Elamite (V. SCHEIL, MDP 5:1904, 2 ff.; KÖNIG, No. 16; J. FRIEDRICH, Orientalia 18:1949, 15 ff.). Here TUPPI-ME can hardly be

that something was new in connection with the Behistun inscription and the copies sent all over the empire, but it is not clear exactly in what sense this novelty should be understood.<sup>20</sup>

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given a collective sense, as there is no Akkadian text on the statue. And it would seem far-fetched, indeed, to extend this allegedly collective TUPPI-ME to refer at the same time also to the more or less close Akkadian parallel text on the statue of the queen's *husband*, Untaš-GAL (KÖNIG, 69, n. 10). HARMATTA's interpretation is disproved also by the stele of Shilhak-Inshushinak (V. SCHEIL, MDP 11:1911, 51, 54 f.; KÖNIG, 54, § 68; J. FRIEDRICH, Orientalia 18:1949, 15 ff.), which is neither bilingual nor creates "the impression of a unity forming a collective plurality". Consequently, in these two cases a collective sense of TUPPI-ME seems excluded, which tends to make also the other examples of this interpretation doubtful. Nor do HARMATTA's arguments concerning the variations between TUPPI and TUPPI-ME in the Behistun inscription carry much conviction.

The only way to attain to a greater precision in the interpretation of this crucial term is to collect and study all the occurrences of TUPPI-ME in Elamite records (which, apparently, has not yet been done). Behistun § 70 apart, there seem to be at least 8 (or 9) known instances: 2 royal inscriptions (mentioned above); 5 business and administrative documents from Susa (V. SCHEIL, MDP 9:1907, No. 6; 11:1911, Nos. 301, 302, 306, 307; cf. I. B. IOSIFOV, "Elamskie khozjajstvennie dokumenti iz Suz." VDI 85:1963, esp. No. 184); 1 Fortification Tablet (R. HALLOCK, JNES 9:1950, 244). I have been unable to locate a royal inscription with a cursing formula containing TUPPI-ME, quoted by R. LABAT (Conf. Inst. Ling. Paris 10:1951, 38). These texts and their contexts have to be analyzed by specialists in Elamite to reveal the various shades of meaning of TUPPI-ME. For the time being, the evidence, in my opinion, seems to favour the line of interpretation opened up by J. LEWY, I. M. DIAKONOV and M. I. ORANSKIJ, i.e. TUPPI-ME as an abstraction of the concrete tablet-inscription concept = "text", "document", "report" or the like. Such an interpretation would suit all the known occurrences of TUPPI-ME and give to the concluding § 70 of the Behistun inscription a better sense than those hitherto considered (i.e. "inscription" and "script"). This is not to say that Darius does not mention some innovation in the field of writing, which is still possible. But to make this possible innovation the main point in this summing up of the Behistun text seems to be a complete disregard for the great inscription as a literary composition.

<sup>20</sup> DIAKONOV, ORANSKIJ, ASMUSSEN and others regard the Behistun inscription as remarkable enough in itself to be proudly considered unique by its originator, the first of its kind to be written in Aryan and to be divulged all over the empire in many languages to many peoples. Even if the Pasargadae inscriptions are authentic Cyrus documents, there is a great and principal difference between these lapidary texts and the monumental Behistun report, one of the greatest and most important historical texts ever written in the ancient Near East. According to this view the contradiction hitherto felt between certain problematic formulae in § 70 concerning the redaction of the Behistun text and the existence of the Pasargadae inscriptions may possibly be more apparent than real.

It appears that the problem can be brought to a solution only by some new finds or by cumulative reasoning along many lines of approach, the results of which, of course, can never attain to more than a certain degree of probability. In a way the current interpretation of Behistun § 70 and the existence of a body of inscriptions at Pasargadae have always seemed more or less mutually exclusive. Apparently neither could admit the other except through a reinterpretation of the one or a redating of the other. Other possible ways of examining the problem have been neglected. Now if, on the one hand, Behistun § 70 can only with great difficulty be brought to reveal its sense, philologically and historically, a discussion of the hitherto somewhat neglected evidence from Pasargadae on the other hand, may provide some new aspects of the problem of Achaemenian literacy and thus also throw some unexpected sidelights on the interpretation of § 70.

## 2. The Pasargadae Inscriptions

At Pasargadae a number of inscriptions, whole or fragmentary and in one or several of the three imperial languages, have been found in the three main palatial buildings, on the Tall-i-Takht platform, close to the Zendan tower and to a northern boundary wall. Greek writers testify to the existence of an inscription on the tomb of Cyrus, the exact wording of which must, however, remain hypothetical.<sup>21</sup> As part of these inscriptions are mentioned in publications not always at hand, a complete list together with the main references is given below.

1. ADAM:KURUŠ:XŠĀYAΘIYA:HAXĀMANIŠIYA  
'U 'KURAŠ 'SUNKUK 'HAQAMANNUŠIYA  
ANĀKU 'KURAŠ ŠARRU 'AXAMANIŠŠI'

I Cyrus the King, the Achaemenian

This inscription (CMa) is known in five copies on doorways and antae in the three main palatial structures (Figs. 1, 2).<sup>22</sup>

2. [KURUŠ:XŠĀYAΘIYA:VAZRAKA:HAXĀMANIŠIYA]  
'KURAŠ 'SUNKI IRŠARRA 'HAQAMANNUŠIYARA  
KURAŠ ŠARRU RABŪ AXAMANIŠŠP

Cyrus the Great King, the Achaemenian

<sup>21</sup> This problem is discussed exhaustively by DANDAMAEV, D.IppA, 36 ff.

<sup>22</sup> KIA, 126 f.; OP, 107, 116.

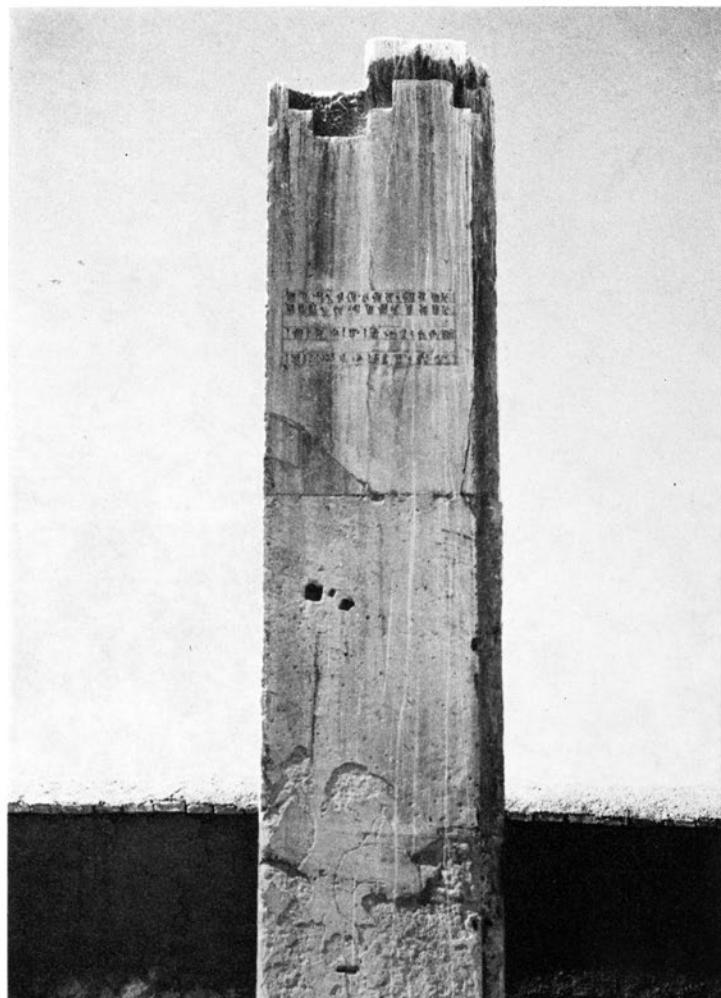


Fig. 1. CMA inscription on anta in Palace P.

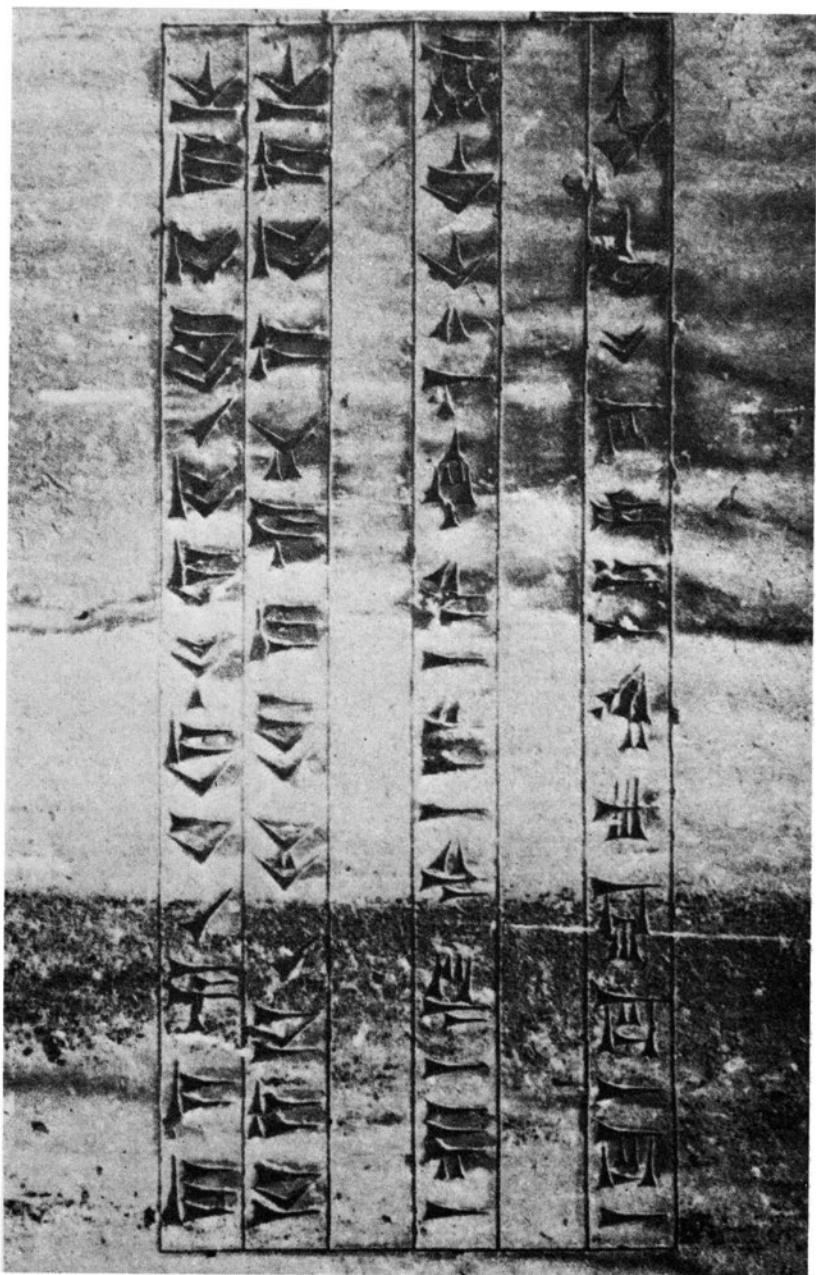


Fig. 2. CMa inscription on anta in Palace P (from E. HERZFELD, Altpersische Inschriften, Taf. I).



Fig 3. CMe inscription on royal figure in doorway in Palace P (from E. HERZFELD, *Altpersische Inschriften*, Taf. I).

This inscription (CMe) is known in several examples, all from the robes of the royal figures in the doorways of Palace P (Figs. 3, 4).<sup>23</sup> The Old Persian version has not left any traces in place, but its text has been reconstructed in analogy with the Elamite and Babylonian versions.

<sup>23</sup> H.API, 2; OP, 107, 116.

According to HERZFELD a word-divider is used in the Elamite text, which would be unique. This is hardly correct, and the sign used is rather an unusual variant of the personal determinative. The Babylonian version seems to neglect the determinative in front of the king's name.



Fig. 4. CMc inscription on royal figure in doorway in Palace P (from E. HERZFELD, Altpersische Inschriften, Taf. I).

- |    |                          |                                  |      |
|----|--------------------------|----------------------------------|------|
| 3. | (1)                      |                                  | KA:  |
|    | (2)                      |                                  | MA:  |
|    | (3)      UR Š            | YA:YA                            |      |
|    | (4)                      |                                  | KUTĀ |
|    | (5)      M               | KR                               |      |
|    | (6)                      |                                  | IΘI  |
|    |                          |                                  |      |
|    | (1)                      |                                  |      |
|    | (2)      A]N-RI          |                                  |      |
|    | (3)      -A]K SA-UL-MA[N |                                  |      |
|    | (4)      -I]Š    ¹Ú KU-  |                                  | -MI  |
|    |                          |                                  |      |
|    | (1)      -I]A-MUŠ        | -T]A-A[S-      -Š]I-'    KI-A-AM |      |
|    | (2)                      | -UŠ-SU U SA-LAM                  |      |
|    | (3)                      | I[Š-T]U?-RU AN-                  |      |
|    | (4)                      | MUH-HI AL-[TA]-TA-AR-Š[Ú?        |      |

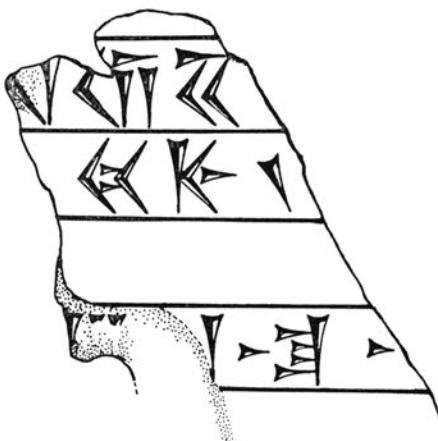


Fig. 5. Pasargadae Fragment No. 4 (from D. STRONACH, Iran 2: 1964, fig. 8).

This is the suggested reconstruction of the preserved text of a number of fragments found in a doorway of Palace P. It was long attributed to Cyrus, but in 1958/59 R. HALLOCK, W. HINZ and R. BORGER showed that it was probably written by Darius, who, according to a necessarily hypothetical reconstruction, is thought to refer to Palace P as built and decorated by Cyrus but provided with an inscription by Darius.<sup>24</sup> It was first labelled CMb and has lately been called DMA. It should be mentioned, however, that various objections have been raised against the textual restoration suggested by HINZ and BORGER, and that doubts have been voiced even as to the fragments' belonging to one and the same inscription.<sup>25</sup>

4. KUŠ  
:HYA:  
<sup>1</sup>KA

<sup>24</sup> H. API, 2 ff. pl. II; OP, 107, 116; R. HALLOCK, JNES 17:1958, 256, n. 2; R. BORGER & W. HINZ, ZDMG 109:1959, 117–125; 115:1965, 396. The text has been reproduced here only approximately according to the positions assigned to the different fragments by BORGER & HINZ, my intention being mainly to suggest the general state of preservation of the text. Cf. Addenda.

<sup>25</sup> BORGER's and HINZ' reconstruction of the text is criticized by I. M. ORANSKIJ (VDI 1966:2, 110 ff.), and W. EILERS accepts, without any comment, HERZFELD's and KENT's opinion on the text and its contents (Beiträge zur Namenforschung 15:1964, 183, n. 9). Recently G. CAMERON has pronounced himself in the same direction (Iran 5:1967, 9).

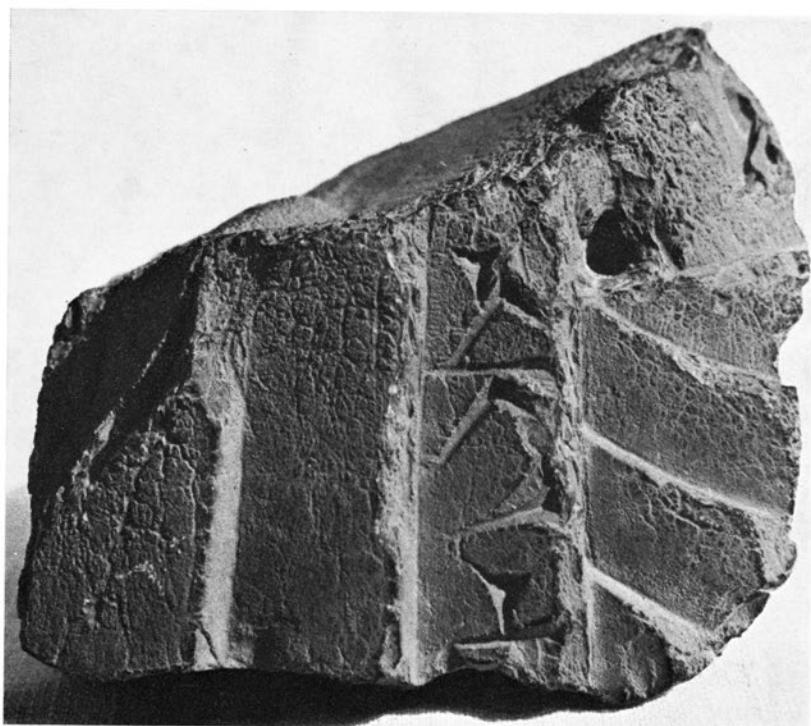


Fig. 6. Pasargadae Fragment No. 5 (courtesy D. STRONACH).

This fragment with two Old Persian lines and one Elamite was found in 1952 close to the Zendan tower (Fig. 5). The inscription was first attributed to Darius and to Cambyses.<sup>26</sup> In 1962, however, the fragment was reinvestigated by the British Institute for Persian Studies and the readings corrected.<sup>27</sup> Recently the fragment has been restudied by G. CAMERON, who suggested that it is part of a Pasargadae copy of the "Foundation Record" of Darius (DPh, DH).<sup>28</sup>

5. :XŠ:VA?

This fragment with a few Old Persian signs was recently found close to a northern boundary wall and is written on what looks like folds of a

<sup>26</sup> W. HINZ, ZDMG 109:1959, 125–127.

ALI SAMI, 140; C. NYLANDER, Or. Suec. 11:1962, 121–125.

<sup>27</sup> STRONACH, 2, 38.

<sup>28</sup> Iran 5:1967, 7 ff.

garment (Fig. 6). It has been suggested that it is part of one of the lost Old Persian versions of CMe.<sup>29</sup>

#### 6. KURAŠ ŠARRU

This fragmentary Babylonian text is said by ALI SAMI to be written on a piece of the shoulder of one of the royal figures in the doorways of Palace P.<sup>30</sup> This seems doubtful as, to my knowledge, very little has been found hitherto of the upper part of these reliefs. Besides it would be a very unusual position for an inscription, unparalleled among extant Achaemenian monuments. There is possibly some mistake about its identity and position, as there is an exactly corresponding text still visible on the *leg* of one of the figures, i.e. a part of CMe (Fig. 3).

7. Fragment from the Tall-i-Takht showing part of one sign (Bab. KU, SU, LA or El. SU, LA?).<sup>31</sup>
8. A copy of Xerxes' Daiva inscription was found on the Tall-i-Takht, reused as a draincover.<sup>32</sup>

These are all the inscriptions and fragments hitherto found at Pasargadae. Meagre though they seem, they are important and rather revealing. Apart from insignificant fragments and the Daiva inscription, the extant evidence tells about at least four different classes of inscriptions (Nos. 1–4), two of which have been, with more or less probability, attributed to Darius (Nos. 3, 4). Does this hold true also for the rest, as has been maintained by several scholars?

### 3. The Number of the Pasargadae Inscriptions

The CMA and CMc inscriptions are only 8 in all, which may seem to contrast strongly with the extensive use of the Old Persian script under Darius, even so strongly as to suggest that these few and short texts were but a conventional or even niggardly tribute by Darius to his predecessor of the other branch of the dynasty.

Although it may seem, at first sight, superfluous to dwell upon the

<sup>29</sup> STRONACH 3, 29, pl. VIe. I am very grateful to my friend D. STRONACH for his lively interest in these problems and for the generous permission to publish the photograph of this fragment. For further discussion of this fragment, cf. below 8.

<sup>30</sup> ALI SAMI, Fig. between pp. 136 and 137.

<sup>31</sup> STRONACH 1, 35, pl. VIc.

<sup>32</sup> STRONACH 3, 19 f. pl. V.

*number* of identical copies of the Pasargadae inscriptions, esp. the CMa and CMc groups, it is worth-while to do so. First a few remarks should be made concerning the principles adhered to by the Achaemenian kings when decorating or inscribing a monument. The predilection for absolute symmetry in Achaemenian—and later Iranian—art and architecture was pointed out long ago.<sup>33</sup> The mirror-like repetition on stairways, façades, doorways and windows of identical sculptural scenes or decorative elements is one example. Another is the way in which the architecture was provided with inscriptions. The written word, in Achaemenian times, clearly not only had the function of proclamation and comment; it also served a more or less aesthetic purpose and was dominated by the same craving for symmetrically perfect form operative in sculptural decoration. Thus a doorway has on its two jambs not only the same sculpture but also the same inscription. Longer texts of the proclamation type may be repeated twice or more times in symmetrical positions within the same architectural unit, and the same short protocol or inscription is sometimes repeated in the same building or hall up to fifty times.

There are certain possibilities of calculating the number of at least part of the inscriptions once written in the palaces at Pasargadae. In Figs. 7/8 are given the schematic plans of the three main palaces R, S and P.<sup>34</sup> The extant—or once noted—inscriptions of the CMa and CMc classes have been marked out in their documented positions with the letters A–E given by E. FLANDIN and P. COSTE in the 1840's.<sup>35</sup> Palace S is the most rewarding. Two inscriptions of the CMa class (A, B) are placed on the antae of the south portico facing each other; a third (C) is written on the south anta of the east portico. Their positions make it reasonable to assume that the principle behind the placing of A–C must hold true for the whole building, i.e. that similar inscriptions were once written on the five antae no longer extant. This assumption is strengthened by the only preserved inscription (E) in Palace P, which is also placed inside an anta, but in this case in the bigger of the two porticos typical of these buildings. Even if this architectural type is conceived of as having a front and a rear side, it is thus evident that both sides were

<sup>33</sup> E. HERZFELD, H.IAE, 270.

<sup>34</sup> From ALI SAMI. I heartily thank W. KLEISS and B. BLOMÉ for their kind help in adapting ALI SAMI's plans to the present purpose.

<sup>35</sup> Voyage en Perse (1843–1854), 159 ff. pl. 197, 199.

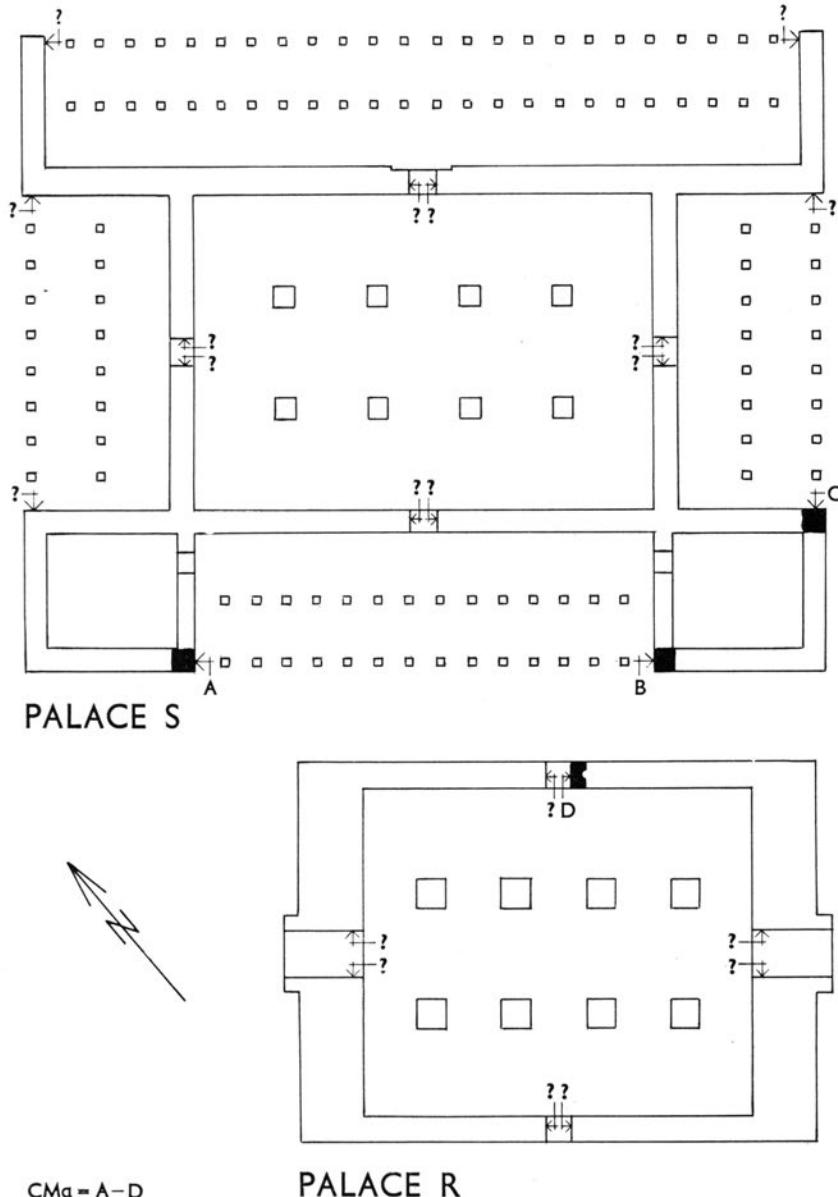


Fig. 7. Palaces S and R (adapted from ALI SAMI, *Pasargadae*, by W. KLEISS and B. BLOMÉ).

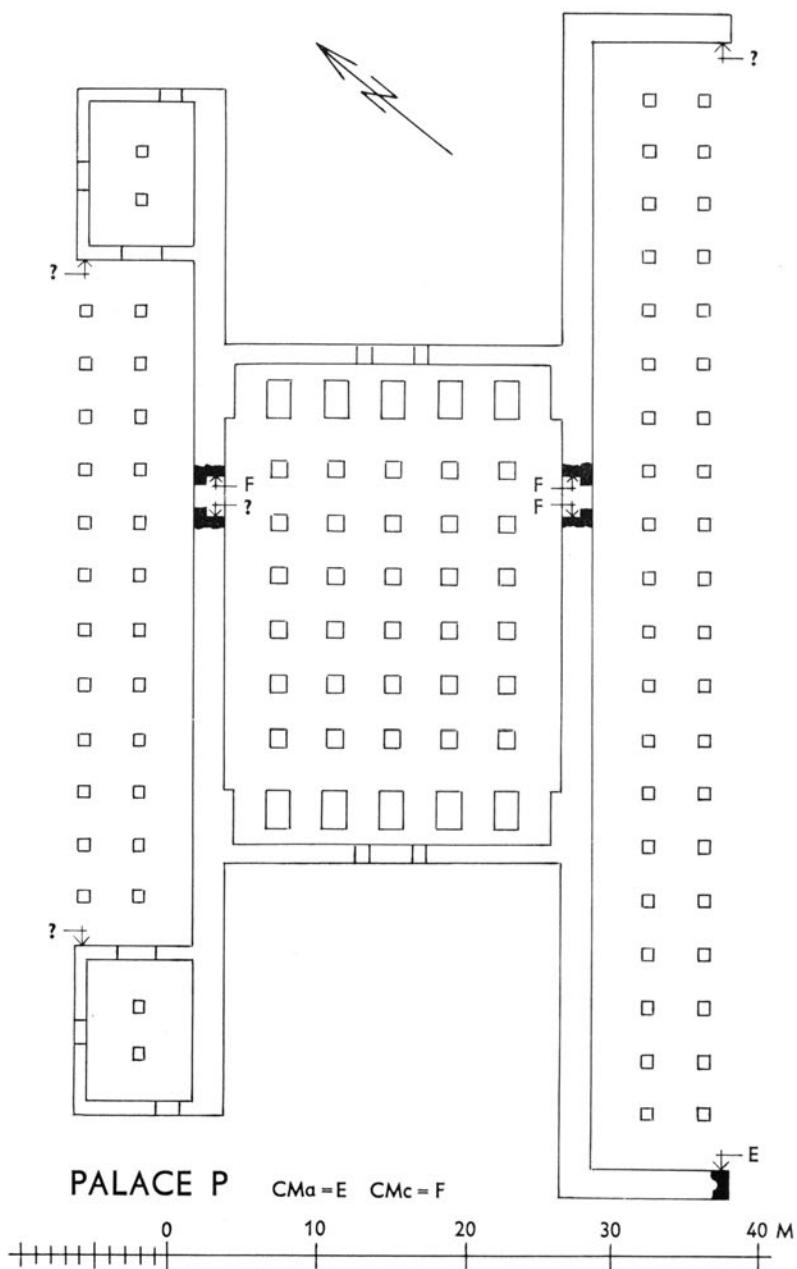


Fig. 8. Palace P (adapted from ALI SAMI, *Pasargadae*, by W. KLEISS and B. BLÖMÉ).

considered important enough to be provided with inscriptions.<sup>36</sup> The care for symmetry and balance had clearly been operative also here, and we may thus assume for these two palaces not 4 inscriptions but at least 12.<sup>37</sup> Besides, it would be reasonable to assume that the doorways, in analogy with Palace R, had also been provided with inscriptions, though this must remain hypothetical.

In the 19th century several visitors noted and copied an inscription of the same CMa class (D) above the still preserved genius in the NE doorway of Palace R. There is every reason to believe that the three other doorjambs, which have now disappeared, also had such sculptures and the same inscription, as this kind of symmetry was apparently never neglected. We may thus with fair probability add 4 more inscriptions to those already postulated, i.e. 16 in all. Now the doorways with the genius were not the main entrances to Palace R; at least later on they just opened into small siderooms.<sup>38</sup> It would be astonishing if the two main entrances to this gate house—and thus to the whole of Pasargadae—with their magnificent bulls in the Assyrian manner did not have the same protocol of the builder of Pasargadae, exactly as Xerxes did not fail to inscribe his gate at Persepolis with two copies of his XPa text at each entrance. Thus the main gate to the whole palatial area at Pasargadae surely did not lack what its smaller doorways and all the other palaces had. In such case there would be another 4 inscriptions, raising the number of the CMa class to about 20 (if not more, as no inscriptions were counted for the 8 doorjambs of Palace S).

<sup>36</sup> Observations from the investigations of Palace P seem to show that the longer, southern of the two porticos was considered as the front of the building. Here a magnificent pavement in alternating black and white stone contrasts with the northern portico's being wholly without any pavement. This, of course, could possibly be interpreted as a sign of the building's not having been completed. But this is contradicted by the difference observable in the column bases of the porticos. Those in the southern portico were sunk into the pavement and were finished only in those parts visible above the floor, while the bases of the northern portico are polished all over and thus seem to have been intended to be wholly visible; cf. ALI SAMI, 57.

<sup>37</sup> The areas between the protruding wings of the porticos of Palace P were most probably utilized in a different way as compared to the symmetrical arrangement in Palace S. HERZFELD's excavation produced some evidence for simple rooms here, and their apparent lack of monumentality speaks for a corresponding lack of inscriptions on the antae of the enclosing walls of the porticos; cf. H.AMI 1, 13 and STRONACH 3, 11.

<sup>38</sup> STRONACH 3, 10; C. NYLANDER, AJA 70:1966, 375.

Passing now to the CMc group of short formulae on the garments of the royal figures in Palace P, we may assume 4 copies of the same inscription. HERZFELD once noted 3 copies on the then preserved doorjambs (Fig. 8: F).<sup>39</sup> The Pasargadae total is thus at least 24. There may have been more texts in this palace, as there are four entrances on the short sides of the building, but this must remain hypothetical.

We are thus entitled to reckon with a substantial number of texts in the Pasargadae palaces instead of a handful. The number 24 is no doubt a minimum, as we have counted no inscriptions for the entrances of Palace S, for the remaining doorways of Palace P and for the Cyrus tomb. It is possible that Darius actually did have an inscription engraved in Palace P, but this fact hardly allows any definite conclusions as to the authenticity of the inscriptions in Cyrus' name (cf. 7). However, the fundamental question remains: have all these Pasargadae inscriptions been written later by Darius?

There are two main types of Achaemenian inscriptions: proclamations and various other longer texts and, on the other hand, the short royal protocol with just names and titles. When a building was finished or added to in one way or another by a successor to the throne, this is always reported in a small number of longer texts, mentioning the names of both builders. This was evidently a kind of information considered necessary and the principle was adhered to by most, if not all, Achaemenian rulers engaged in building projects (cf. XPe, XSa, XV, A<sup>1</sup>Pa, D<sup>2</sup>Sb). But there is no indication that a successor ever did write only the short protocol of his predecessor, especially beginning with the word ADAM (I or I am). The royal protocol, as used in architectural contexts, has a formal and aesthetic function, and its endless repetition all over the same building makes it very different from the more or less informative proclamation texts, repeated much more sparingly.<sup>40</sup> There is nothing astonishing in the fact that Darius possibly wrote an inscription in a building begun but perhaps not wholly completed by Cyrus. But it would seem difficult, to say the least, to imagine Darius writing the name and title of Cyrus, preceded by ADAM, more than 20 times all over the palaces at Pasargadae. A later king may very well inform about the building history, but he will hardly devote much effort to fill, out of

<sup>39</sup> H.API, 2.

<sup>40</sup> We may use here also the term "Zugehörigkeitsinschriften" (first coined by HERZFELD), though I am not sure that it contains the whole truth. Cf. H.AMI 8, 7; W. HINZ, ZDMG 92:1938, 169 f.; LEWY, 181, n. 45.

aesthetic, pious or other considerations, a whole palatial city with inscriptions in another king's name.<sup>41</sup> The CMb–DMa inscription may seem to be less a glorification of Cyrus than a kind of slightly officious footnote to the magnificence of Darius himself. But all the other CM inscriptions are in Cyrus' name and aimed at Cyrus' glory, which was hardly much cared for by Darius, who hardly ever mentions Cyrus' name in his inscriptions and never showed any interest in the rival branch of the dynasty.<sup>42</sup> It seems hardly probable that we should attribute all these Pasargadae inscriptions to Darius.

#### 4. Achaemenian Royal Titles

There are also other arguments pertaining to this problem, based upon important evidence which, as far as I know, has not yet been adequately used in this connexion. A close study of the royal titles used in the Achaemenian inscriptions seems to allow certain interesting conclusions.<sup>43</sup> The Achaemenian inscriptions very often begin with a more or

<sup>41</sup> Even if we use in this context "Zugehörigkeitsinschriften", it is hard to understand the need for Darius to repeat eight times or more in the same construction that the building "belonged" to Cyrus.

<sup>42</sup> The various difficulties in accepting Darius as having written these Cyrus inscriptions were stressed already by WEISSBACH (ZDMG 48:1894, 664 ff.), who pointed out that "die späteren Könige interessierten sich für die ausgestorbene Seitenlinie ihres Geschlechts ausserordentlich wenig. Nur Darius erwähnt sie ganz flüchtig in der Behistun-Inschrift. Xerxes und seine Nachfolger schweigen ganz. Hätte aber auch einer von diesen das Relief für den grossen Cyrus anfertigen lassen (=the genius in Palace R), so würde er doch wohl kaum seinen eigenen Namen fortgelassen haben". H. S. NYBERG (and others) dwell upon "die Rivalität und Spannung zwischen den beiden Zweigen der Achämeniden" (Historia Mundi 3, 76). That this was a strong and long operative fact can be concluded from the traditions of Cyrus' low origin current later on and reported by Ctesias (Nic. Damasc. Fragm. 66 in C. MÜLLER, Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum 3 (1883) 398; Ctesias ap Photius, ed. R. HENRY (1947) 2). The attempt to ascribe this to an anti-Cyrus propaganda by Artaxerxes II against his brother and rival Cyrus the Younger seems less convincing (e.g. R. KENT, JAOS 66:1946, 212). But it is perhaps also possible that we may have in this tradition of Cyrus as a son of a brigand a misunderstood reflection from the Iranian royal legend; cf. R. FRYE, Iranica Antiqua IV, 1964, 40 ff., G. WIDENGREN, Hommage à G. Dumézil (1960', 225 ff.).

Even DANDAMAEV, who accepts Darius as the originator of the Pasargadae texts, is in difficulty when he admits that "Darius did not want to elevate Cyrus too much because of Darius' own eagerness for glory", (D.IppA, 40). Cf. also R. GHIRSHMAN's objections to these views (JNES 24:1965, 246).

<sup>43</sup> There is a concordance, now antiquated and very difficult to utilize, of Old

less elaborate royal protocol such as ... Great King, King of Kings, King of Persia etc. etc.<sup>44</sup> These titles are used in various and revealing ways.

To facilitate the study of this rather cumbersome material, very difficult to survey and to handle, the titles have been formalized below according to a code and then tabulated in diagrammatic form. For the word "King" has been chosen the letter "A", for "Great King" "B", "King of Kings" "C" etc., so as to register all elements that may occur in an Achaemenian protocol (Fig. 9). Then all the extant royal inscriptions containing a protocol (118+) have been formalized in table form (Figs. 10–13) and the necessary information about the inscription listed (label in KENT's OP, number of copies, material or place).<sup>45</sup>

When this is done, certain interesting patterns emerge from the various ways of grouping the material. The most important for the problems discussed here is the analytical diagram (Fig. 13), where can be studied the use and exact frequency of all the formal elements in the different inscriptions. The diagram shows that the CM group differs in 3 fundamental ways from all other (110+) Achaemenian inscriptions in the treatment and use of the royal titles.

1. The CMA group is the only type among 118+ known Achaemenian inscriptions containing royal titles to use the simple title KING (A). In no other monumental inscription is this title used in the protocol.<sup>46</sup>

2. With the exception of 3 very short inscriptions on a weight and on folds of garments (Wa, DPb, XPK) from the time of Darius and Xerxes, the Pasargadae group (CMA, CMc = 8+) are the only inscriptions in the whole Achaemenian corpus that never use the title KING OF KINGS (C). It should be noted that all other extant Achaemenian building inscriptions (about 70+) use it.

Persian royal titles and their correspondence in other languages (continued p. 162) by R. D. WILSON, *Festschrift SACHAU* (1915) 179 ff. Some problems concerning Achaemenian titles have been treated shortly by O. v. WESENDONCK, *Studies in honour of C. E. PAVRY* (1933) 488 ff. Cf. also H. AMI 1:1929, 119.

<sup>44</sup> Most of these titles belong to the age-old flora of traditional paraphernalia of Near Eastern royalty. Assyro-Babylonian, Urartian, Elamite and also Median inspiration can be detected at various points, but, to my knowledge, the detailed study of these interesting problems still remains to be done.

<sup>45</sup> The sign "+" after a cipher denotes the fact that there have been more of the kind, though the exact number cannot be calculated.

<sup>46</sup> The title "king" is sometimes used on seals, cf. Persepolis II, 21, No. 8; K. BALKAN, "Inscribed Bullae from Daskyleion-Ergili", Anatolia 4:1959, 123–128; W. NAGEL, "Datierte Glyptik aus Altvorderasien", AfO 20:1963, 137, n. 7.

Fig. 9. Achaemenian royal titles.

Formalized according to following code:

I (am)	= O
Name	= X
King	= A
Great King	= B
King of Kings	= C
King of Persia	= D
King of lands	= E
King in (all) the earth	= F
King in countries containing all kinds of men	= G
King in this great earth far and wide	= H
Son of ...	= I
Grandson of ...	= K
An Achaemenian	= L
A Persian, son of a Persian, an Aryan, having an Aryan lineage	= M

All titles are taken from KENT's corpus (OP 116–157) with some later finds added. Some unimportant variations have been disregarded and brought together under the same letter as being irrelevant in this context. The number of copies of each inscription has been computed from the publications.

Fig. 10. All Achaemenian inscriptions containing a royal protocol transcribed according to the system shown in Fig. 9 and grouped according to the order in KENT's OP.

Name	Text	Label	Remarks
Ariaramnes	X B C D I K	AmH	
Arsames	X B C D I L	AsH	
Cyrus	O X A L	CMa	
	X B L	CMc	
Darius	O X B C D E I K L	DB	
	X B C E I L	DPa	
	X B I L	DPb	
	O X B C E I L	DPe	
	X B C E I L	DPh	
	O X B C G H I L M	DNa	
	O X B C E I L	DSa	
	O X B C E F I L	DSb	
	O X B C I	DSc	

	O X B C E F I L	DSD	
	O X B C G H I L	DSe	
	O X B C E F I L	DSf	
	O X B C E F I L	DSg	
	O X B C E F I L	DSi	
	O X B C F I L	DSj	
	O X B C E I L	DSk	
	O X B C E I L	DSm	
	O X B C E F I L	DSy	
	X B C E F I L	DZb	F + VAZRAKA
	O X B C G H I L	DZe	
	O X B C G H I L	DE	
	X B C E I L	DH	
	O X B I L	Wa	
	O X B C E F I L	Wb	
	O X B C E F I L	We	
	O X B C E F I L	Wd	
	X B C E I L	Gherla	Act. Ant. II (1953), 1 ff
Xerxes	O X B C G H I L	XPa	
	O X B C G H I L	XPb	
	O X B C G H I L	XPc	
	O X B C G H I L	XPd	
	X B C I L	XPe	
	O X B C G H I L	XPf	
	O X B C G H I L M	XPh	
	O X B C E F I L	XPj	
	X I L	XPk	
	O X B C E I L	XSc	
	O X B C G H I L	XE	
	O X B C G H I L	XV	
Artaxerxes I	O X B C G H I K L	A <sup>1</sup> Pa	
	X B C E I K L	A <sup>1</sup> I	
	X B C E I K L	Hamadan	ILN. Apr. 16, 1955, 699
Darius II	O X B C E F I L	D <sup>2</sup> Sb	
	O X B C G H I L	D <sup>2</sup> Ha	JAOS 72 (1952), 169 f.
Artaxerxes II	X B C E F I L	A <sup>2</sup> Sa	Lots of I
	O X B C I	A <sup>2</sup> Sb	
	X B C E F I L	A <sup>2</sup> Sc	Reversed word order
	O X B C E F I L	A <sup>2</sup> Sd	
	X B C E F I L	A <sup>2</sup> Ha	Lots of I
	X B C E F I L	A <sup>2</sup> He	Lots of I
Artaxerxes III	X B C E F O I L	A <sup>3</sup> Pa	Reversed word order

Fig. 11. Achaemenian royal titles grouped according to similarity. The numbers given correspond to the number actually found. The + sign denotes that there were more of the same type. All in all we may reckon with at least 180–200 Achaemenian inscriptions.

Label	Text	Number	Monument or object
AmH	X B C D I K	1	Gold tablet
AsH	X B C D I L	1	Gold tablet
CMa	O X A L	5+	Antae and doorjambs
CMc	X B L	3+	Folds of robes
DB	O X B C D E I K L	2	Rock face
DNA	O X B C G H I L M	1	Rock face
DSe	O X B C G H I L	2+	Inscription on tablets
DZc	O X B C G H I L	1	Stele
DE	O X B C G H I L	1	Rock face
DSb	O X B C E F I L	2	Clay tablets
DSd	O X B C E F I L	2+	Columns
DSf	O X B C E F I L	5+	Clay, marble, bricks
DSg	O X B C E F I L	2+	Columns
DSi	O X B C E F I L	1+	Column
DSy	O X B C E F I L	1+	Column base
Wb	O X B C E F I L	1	Weight
We	O X B C E F I L	1	Weight
Wd	O X B C E F I L	1	Weight
DZb	X B C E F I L	1	Stele
DPe	O X B C E I L	1	Palace wall
DSa	O X B C E I L	2	Clay tablets
DSk	O X B C E I L	1+	Brick
DSm	O X B C E I L	1+	Glazed brick
DPa	X B C E I L	2	Doorjamb
DPh	X B C E I L	4	Gold and silver plates
DH	X B C E I L	2	Gold and silver vessels
Gherla	X B C E I L	1	Clay tablet
DSj	O X B C F I L	1+	Column
DSc	O X B C I	2+	Column bases
Wa	O X B I L	1	Weight
DPb	X B I L	1+	Folds of robe
XPh	O X B C G H I L M	3	Stone tablets
XPa	O X B C G H I L	4	Doorjambs
XPb	O X B C G H I L	2	Palace wall
XPe	O X B C G H I L	3	Door jambs
XPd	O X B C G H I L	4	Door jambs and walls
XPf	O X B C G H I L	1	Limestone tablet
XE	O X B C G H I L	1	Rock face
XV	O X B C G H I L	1	Rock niche

XPj	O X B C E F I L	5 +	Column bases
XSc	O X B C E I L	1	Marble tablet
XPe	X B C I L	15 +	Doorjambs, windows
XPk	X I L	1 +	Folds of robe
A <sup>1</sup> Pa	O X B C G H I K L	1	Palace
A <sup>1</sup> I	X B C E I K L	4	Silver vessels
Hamadan	X B C E I K L	1	Silver phiale
D <sup>2</sup> Ha	O X B C G H I L	1	Gold tablet
D <sup>2</sup> Sb	O X B C E F I L	2 +	Column bases
A <sup>2</sup> Sd	O X B C E F I L	3 +	Column bases
A <sup>2</sup> Sa	X B C E F I L	4 +	Column bases
A <sup>2</sup> Sc	X B C E F I L	1	Stone tablet
A <sup>2</sup> Ha	X B C E F I L	1 +	Column base
A <sup>2</sup> He	X B C E F I L	1	Gold tablet
A <sup>2</sup> Sb	O X B C I	1 +	Gold tablet
A <sup>3</sup> Pa	O X B C E F I L	4	Palace walls

118 +

3. The Pasargadae inscriptions alone among all extant monumental Achaemenian texts never mention the father's name, which seems otherwise to be considered as fundamental. Even the shortest of all Achaemenian inscriptions (XPk) mentions the father's name. It should be pointed out that the two shortest inscriptions within the whole corpus (DPb and XPk) are written on folds of royal garments, exactly as the CMc group. Though functioning identically with this group, they differ from the Pasargadae texts in this most important respect.

There are thus several, very important differences between the Pasargadae inscriptions and the main body of Achaemenian monumental texts.<sup>47</sup> There is no reason to dwell here upon the various interpretations earlier given to the changing use of titles at Pasargadae, not least the, erroneous, idea that we can detect here a reflection of the political expansion of Cyrus from a Median vassal to Persian Great King.<sup>48</sup> What

<sup>47</sup> The dating of the Ariaramnes and Arsames inscriptions to late times is, in my opinion, strengthened by these observations on the use of royal titles. If the titles used in these two texts were really current in the days of Ariaramnes and Arsames, it is doubly difficult to understand why Cyrus—or Darius—should use such modest titles in Pasargadae.

Interesting is the clearly observable rhetorization later on in the more frequent use of the more pathetic formulae like G and H.

<sup>48</sup> It should be pointed out that it is impossible to draw any precise conclusions

Fig. 12. The royal titles grouped according to types and frequencies.

Name	Text	Number
Ariaramnes	X B C D I K	1 = 1
Arsames	X B C D I L	1 = 1
Cyrus	O X A L	5+
	X B L	3+ = 8+
Darius	O X B C E F I L	16+
	X B C E I L	9
	O X B C E I L	5+
	O X B C G H I L	4+
	O X B C I	2+
	O X B C D E I K L	2
	O X B C G H I L M	1
	O X B C F I L	1
	X B C E F I L	1
	O X B I L	1
	X B I L	1+ = 43+
Xerxes	O X B C G H I L	16
	X B C I L	15+
	O X B C E F I L	5+
	O X B C G H I L M	3
	O X B C E I L	1
	X I L	1+ = 41+
Artaxerxes I	X B C E I K L	5
	O X B C G H I K L	1 = 6
Darius II	O X B C E F I L	2+
	O X B C G H I L	1 = 3+
Artaxerxes II	X B C E F I L	7+
	O X B C E F I L	3+
	O X B C I	1 = 11+
Artaxerxes III	O X B C E F I L	4 = 4
		118+

as to the actual political position of Cyrus in relation to Astyages and to Nabu-naid from the inscriptions at Pasargadae and the titles used therein. Too often it has been neglected, that the CMa text is written in *all* the three palaces, and that there can be no doubt whatever as to the comparatively late date of, at least, Palace P with its Greek influences (cf. n. 60). The simple title "king" in the CMa inscription, consequently, cannot possibly be taken to prove that Cyrus was only a Median vassal when this text was written.

Fig. 13. Achaemenian royal titles tabulated in analytical form.

Name	O	X	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	K	L	M	Frequency
Ariaramnes		X		B	C	D				I	K				1
Arsames		X		B	C	D				I	L				1
Cyrus	O	X	A								L				5+
	X		B								L				3+
Darius	O	X	B	C		E	F			I	L				16+
	X		B	C		E				I	L				9
	O	X	B	C		E				I	L				5+
	O	X	B	C				G	H	I	L				4+
	O	X	B	C						I					2+
	O	X	B	C	D	E				I	K	L			2
	O	X	B	C			G	H	I	L	M				1
	O	X	B	C		F			I	L					1
	X		B	C	E	F			I	L					1
	O	X	B						I	L					1
	X		B						I	L					1+
Xerxes	O	X	B	C			G	H	I	L					16
	X		B	C					I	L					15+
	O	X	B	C	E	F			I	L					5+
	O	X	B	C			G	H	I	L	M				3
	O	X	B	C	E				I	L					1
	X								I	L					1+
Artaxerxes I	X		B	C	E				I	K	L				5
	O	X	B	C			G	H	I	K	L				1
Darius II	O	X	B	C	E	F		I	L						2+
	O	X	B	C			G	H	I	L					1
Artaxerxes II	X		B	C	E	F			I	L					7+
	O	X	B	C	E	F			I	L					3+
	O	X	B	C					I						1
Artaxerxes III	O	X	B	C	E	F			I	L					4
															118+

*Commentary.* The Cyrus inscriptions at Pasargadae are the only among 118+ texts that (1) use the title “King” (A) instead of “Great King” (B); (2) throughout avoid the title “King of Kings” (C); (3) throughout avoid mentioning the father’s name (I).

interests us here is how these facts are to be interpreted and how they tally with the assumption that Darius wrote these inscriptions. Are there any possible explanations for a use of such differing titles and formulae by Darius?

One may venture, of course, a political or propagandistic interpretation and assume that Darius somehow wanted to stress a difference in position between himself and Cyrus by giving to the latter titles of less magnificence than those used by himself. But why then use two different titles (King and Great King), even in the same building? And why this amount of inscriptions (24 or more), which ought to result in an increasing impression of Cyrus' might and importance instead of the contrary? When, in the beginning of his reign, Darius had at last conquered his opponents he was indisputable master of the realm and hardly needed to heed any balance between too much and too little, between give and take. The more or less obvious contradiction between the fairly large number of inscriptions and the comparatively modest titles can hardly be explained along this line.<sup>49</sup>

Remarkable, indeed, is the omission of the father's name in the protocols. Cyrus' father Cambyses had been dead for more than 40 years, and the omission of his name and royal title for this reason may seem possible though not very probable. But in the Behistun inscription Darius mentions the fact that eight Achaemenians had been kings before him, and it is clear that he had more to gain than to lose by stressing the long and hereditary royalty of the Achaemenian family, considering his own contested legitimacy. A theoretically possible explanation along a political line would be that Darius somehow wanted to cast doubt upon Cyrus' own legitimacy. But by this he would hardly gain anything, and, besides dwelling upon the old Achaemenian royalty, in Behistun he also stresses the legitimacy of Cambyses. These and similar explanations do not convince.

Actually, it is rather difficult to understand why Cyrus himself should not have mentioned his father's name, especially as he did so in the Babylonian inscriptions from Babylon, Ur and Uruk.<sup>50</sup> It is possible,

<sup>49</sup> A modest use of titular rhetoric by Cyrus himself would get a plausible background when his titles are compared to those borne by the Elamite kings. R. GHIRSHMAN points out that a powerful ruler like Untaš-GAL only used the simple title "King of Anshan and Susa" (JNES 24:1965, 245).

<sup>50</sup> In Cyrus' Babylonian inscriptions the titular modesty of the Pasargadae texts is not to be found. However, these and other differences are not so important

though, that in these early days Iranian society laid more stress upon the individual's relation to his clan than upon his close family ties. The title *Achaemenid* is never omitted in the Achaemenian inscriptions, and in the Avestan world Zarathuštra's being a Spitamid is much more stressed than his being a son of Pourušapa, who is mentioned only rarely and never in the Gāthās. We may possibly see here a reflection of an earlier custom, which was later mixed with other ideas, perhaps partly derived from ancient Near Eastern royal ideology and laying more emphasis upon the father-son relationship and the connected problems of legitimacy.<sup>51</sup>

All in all, the variations in the royal protocol here noted are difficult to explain satisfactorily on the assumption that Darius wrote these texts. The diverging use of the titular elements at Pasargadae with its unique features, among all 118+ Achaemenian inscriptions containing royal protocols, is possibly best explained as due to a still not wholly fixed tradition for the use of these titles and formulae in various contexts in Iran. The titles as such and the formulae were mostly old—inspired from Mesopotamia, Elam, Urartu and Media—but their handling in a monumental, Persian context may still have been somewhat undogmatic, exactly like the whole art of Pasargadae, the young capital of a rising power, with its many experiments, some very short-lived, with motives, forms and styles.

### 5. Observations on CMa and CMc

Some further remarks concerning the CMa and CMc groups should be made, although they are less important than those made above. As already mentioned, the CMa inscription was written in all the palaces at

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as thought by DANDAMAEV (D.IppA, 39 f.). In Babylonia Cyrus wisely adapted himself to the traditions and the protocolar use of the Babylonian kingdom, thereby stressing his legitimacy as "King of lands" and Marduk's own choice. It is thus hardly permissible to draw from the modesty at Pasargadae and the exuberance in Babylon any conclusions as to date and origin of the Pasargadae texts. For Cyrus' texts in Babylonian, cf. KIA 2 ff. and 8; ANET, 315; A. SCHOTT, APAW (1929) 7; C. J. GADD & L. LEGRAIN, Ur Excavations, Texts I, No. 194.

<sup>51</sup> Similar thoughts are expressed by A. A. MAZAHERI in his interesting work "La Famille Iranienne aux temps anté-islamiques" (1938), esp. 25–32. However, the author stresses, probably correctly, the fact that this is an inner-Iranian development, clearly observable in the Avesta as well as in the Achaemenian inscriptions. Thus there is possibly no need to reckon with much influence from ancient Near Eastern royal ideology.

Pasargadae. It should be pointed out that there is a certain difference in execution within this group of texts. In the two earlier structures, Palaces R and S, the Old Persian, Elamite and Babylonian versions were apparently cut as three separate entities, forming individually framed, unconnected parallel bands with a blank space in between.<sup>52</sup> In Palace P, on the other hand, the three versions have been framed into one whole by connecting lines (Figs. 1, 2). There may be several explanations for this, and the value of this observation should not be overestimated. But it might seem to speak against the assumption that all these texts were written by Darius at one time, as one would then expect a certain conformity in the execution. It is possibly significant that the line of difference falls between the two earlier, orientalizing Palaces R and S on the one hand and, on the other, the clearly later Palace P, dated rather late by its Greek influence. It may thus point to a difference in time also for the execution of these CMa inscriptions, those in Palaces S and R being cut earlier.

The CMc texts on the royal garments in Palace P also seem to allow some observations with relevance for the problems discussed. The CMc inscriptions are placed on the sculpture quite differently from the identically functioning texts on royal garments in Persepolis (DPb, XPK). In Persepolis the texts are written on the vertical, central folds of the royal robe, beginning with the Old Persian version on the foremost fold. The two following folds are blank, and then follow the Babylonian and Elamite versions on the last fold.<sup>53</sup> At Pasargadae the arrangement is wholly different. The exact position of the vanished Old Persian version has been difficult to determine hitherto (cf. 8), but the obliquely written Elamite and Babylonian versions on the sloping folds of the dress in front of and behind the four central, vertical folds are enough to mark out the great difference between the placing of otherwise identically functioning inscriptions at Pasargadae and in Persepolis (Figs. 3, 4).

<sup>52</sup> H.API, pl. 1; Persepolis I, 14, ill. D. An inscribed Pasargadae anta (Persepolis I, 13, ill. C) is wrongly attributed to Palace S (Palace of Audience) instead of Palace P (Residential Palace). There is some confusion as to the arrangement of the text above the genius in Palace R. It seems to have disappeared some time about 1874, but it was drawn by KER PORTER in 1818 and by E. FLANDIN and P. COSTE in 1840/41. PORTER has reproduced it with connecting lines between the three inscriptions (cf. H.IF, Abb. 71), while the French travellers give it without these lines. The documentary aim and the general accuracy of the French work makes one feel inclined to accept their rendering as the more correct.

<sup>53</sup> Cf. Figs. 3, 4 and Persepolis I, 223 f., 239, pl. 182 D.

Although there was a gold application on the two central, vertical folds of the Pasargadae royal figures, this would hardly have prevented Darius from using the same type of composition as in Persepolis when inscribing the Pasargadae monument. This difference would rather seem to point at a Cyrus origin for these texts, as there is no clear reason why Darius should have had these texts cut so differently. This problem will be further discussed below in connection with Pasargadae fragment No. 5.

The scribal errors and strange variations in the shape of the Elamite determinative noted in the CMc text (cf. n. 23) may also seem to speak for an early, more or less experimental stage of writing Achaemenian inscriptions, and against a Darius enterprise to inscribe all the hitherto uninscribed Pasargadae buildings at the same time. By then the number of sufficiently trained people ought to have been big enough to avoid two errors in such short texts.

## 6. Conclusion I

It is time now to sum up the observations hitherto made and to evaluate their relevance to the problem of the authenticity of the Pasargadae inscriptions in Cyrus' name.

All those who have argued that Darius introduced the Old Persian script have assumed, as recently W. HINZ, that Cyrus did not write any inscriptions at all and that all the Pasargadae texts—Old Persian, Elamite and Babylonian—must have been written by Darius. Is this possible?

In my opinion there are strong arguments for an Achaemenian literacy already under Cyrus and against Darius having written all the Pasargadae texts.

1. There is every reason to assume that Cyrus would have inscribed his buildings in Elamite and Babylonian, even if there was no Old Persian script in use during his reign.<sup>54</sup>

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<sup>54</sup> Although little evidence has actually been found, there can be no doubt that the peoples in Western Iran had long been familiar with writing. E. HERZFELD has published a bronze tablet from the ninth cent., in Babylonian concerning tax redemption, written in the name of a king of Abdadana (H.AMI 9:1938, 159 f.). There are other indications too of a use of writing (H.AMI 8:1, 23) and even those who accept Darius as the originator of the Achaemenian script assume that the Medes had a script more or less of their own. The early use of Aramaic in Cyrus'

2. The apparently unnecessarily high number of identical Pasargadae inscriptions (24 or more) speaks against the Darius theory. One or several texts of the CMB-DMA type would be quite natural and in agreement with Achaemenian praxis. But the short protocols, set up everywhere and in great numbers according to generous symmetric principles, can hardly be thus explained, either as tokens of piety towards the founder of the dynasty, or as "Zugehörigkeitsinschriften" written later by Darius, or as a result of aesthetic considerations.

3. The use of ADAM (I or I am) in the building protocols, more or less indicating Cyrus as acting agent.

4. The use of royal titles and protocolar formulae in ways generally differing from all other Achaemenian inscriptions, including those of Darius himself, and the difficulty of explaining these differences as due to political or propagandistic considerations on behalf of Darius.

5. Some specific differences concerning variations in formulae used in otherwise identical and identically functioning inscriptions at Pasargadae and Persepolis.

6. The marked difference in the principles behind the arrangement of the CMc texts as compared with the identically functioning DPb and XPK texts in Persepolis.

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chancellery is attested by biblical sources (e.g. Esra 6:1–5). Especially important in this connexion is the close contact with the Elamite sphere, literate since thousands of years, and Cyrus' first known title is "King of Anshan", i.e. Elam. It is an often repeated suggestion, that the use of Elamite and, especially, Babylonian in the Pasargadae inscriptions ought to date only after the capture of Babylon. This idea wholly neglects the important fact of the close relations between the Persians and Elam, a kingdom with a more or less bilingual culture. Sumerian and later Akkadian-Babylonian was spoken and written in Elam through most of the periods of its history. Private documents and official inscriptions were written also in the languages of the Mesopotamian lowlands. There is multiple evidence for this bilingualism in the volumes of the *Délégation en Perse*; cf. V. SCHEIL, MDP 9 (1907) III; R. GHIRSHMAN, JNES 24:1965, 245; Acta Archaeologica Acad. Hung. 19:1967, 10. There is thus every reason to assume that Cyrus' government was literate in at least three languages: Elamite, Babylonian and Aramaic.

As to the idea of inscribing buildings, every Near Eastern monarch, Babylonian and Assyrian, Urartian and Elamite, had his buildings and other monuments inscribed to perpetuate the memory of his name, his valour and his piety. Innumerable cursing formulae with dire threats against later interference with such texts testify to the great importance of such inscriptions. Surrounded by ancient kingdoms and cultures using script since immemorial times the ruler of Pasargadae would surely not have neglected such an important status aspect as monumental inscriptions proclaiming himself builder and king, even if he did not have a special script for his own language, or rather one of his own languages. Thus the idea of Cyrus not even using Elamite and Babylonian, current in his own kingdom, to perpetuate his glory as the builder of Pasargadae seems unlikely.

7. Certain variations in execution within the Pasargadae texts themselves and scribal errors which rather speak for their not being the result of a general inscription program at one special moment by Darius.

Not all of these arguments have the same weight. But together their cumulative effect seems rather convincing. It is difficult to accept the opinion current among the Darius advocates that Darius wrote all these texts with their marked differences from all other Achaemenian royal inscriptions. There seem to be comparatively stronger reasons for accepting the CM inscriptions for what they explicitly pretend to be: inscriptions written by Cyrus.

It may seem, at first sight, that by this the problem of the Old Persian script would also be more or less solved in favour of the theory that it was known and used already by Cyrus.<sup>55</sup> This, however, would be a premature conclusion at this stage of the discussion. There are some further possibilities and arguments that should be tested in this connection. For the time being it is enough to stress that there are good reasons to doubt that Darius wrote *all* the Pasargadae texts.

## 7. Significance of the CMb-DMa Inscription

W. HINZ and others have maintained that the CMb–DMa inscription proves once and for all that the Pasargadae inscriptions *in toto* were not written by Cyrus but rather some 10 or 20 years later by Darius. It was shown above that this conclusion is hardly correct in its exclusiveness. However, the inscription and the arguments drawn from its study should be scrutinized, in order to evaluate as precisely as possible their relevance to the problem here discussed.

It is evident that the extremely fragmentary state of the inscription makes any attempt at a reconstruction of the text very hypothetical and allows various divergent readings, according to the positions assigned to the individual fragments. It was also mentioned above that some scholars deny that all these fragments belong to one and the same inscription.<sup>56</sup> However, the first line of the Babylonian version tends to make an attribution to Darius rather probable ([<sup>1</sup>DARI]AMUŠ). It is

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<sup>55</sup> This was long my own opinion (cf. Or. Suec. 11:1962, 125, n. 1; AJA 69:1965, 54, n. 33; Iranica Antiqua 6:1966, 130, n. 1). However, new material from Pasargadae and Behistun and valuable suggestions from my Uppsala colleagues, esp. Dr. S. BRUNNSÅKER, have caused me to reconsider my position.

<sup>56</sup> Cf. n. 25.

also possible that Darius is speaking about Cyrus (?) as having built or made something for himself ([A]KUTĀ), and both the Elamite and Babylonian versions seem to mention reliefs (SAULMA[NNU]; §ALAM) in this connection.<sup>57</sup> Then Darius speaks for himself (El. <sup>1</sup>U=I) and mentions that he has written something (last Babylonian line). But granted that the general content of the inscription is possibly more or less correctly restored, what exactly does it prove?<sup>58</sup>

Before accepting for this text BORGER & HINZ' very specific and unusual explanation, inspired from another sphere of problems, one ought to consider whether there are more close to hand explanations for the fact that Darius wrote an inscription in a palace built by Cyrus. Only by doing so can we hope to arrive at an estimate of the value of the CMb–DMA inscription for the connected problems of the Pasargadae inscriptions and of the Achaemenian script. Actually there are some other possibilities that should be considered. We may call them the "unfinished" and the "uninscribed" theories.

First of all, there is the possibility that the palace was not wholly completed when Cyrus died and that it was brought to completion later, possibly by Darius.<sup>59</sup> The first things to be completed, when an Achaemenian palace was built, were the stone parts, to which were afterwards added brick walls and roof. There can be no doubt that Palace P is the latest of the palatial structures at Pasargadae.<sup>60</sup> It is thus quite possible

<sup>57</sup> For the reading [K]ŪR[U]Š, cf. G. CAMERON, Iran 5:1967, 9. For [A]KUTĀ, cf. R. GHIRSHMAN, JNES 24:1965, 244; M. A. DANDAMAEV, D.IppA, 38 f.

<sup>58</sup> For criticisms of this reconstruction, cf. n. 25.

<sup>59</sup> C. NYLANDER (Thesis 1963); R. GHIRSHMAN, JNES 24:1965, 245.

<sup>60</sup> The palace architecture at Pasargadae can be said to fall into two groups, which are not only stylistically different but also chronologically, as seems clear from observations on their building techniques. The earlier group (Palaces R and S) is marked out by its clearly Oriental (Elamite, Mesopotamian and perhaps Urartian) features and elements of decoration. Palace P, on the other hand, and the Cyrus tomb together with the Zendan tower are different in that here a more or less strong Greek influence is visible (mouldings, column bases and, possibly, the sculptural decoration). Thanks to a more established chronology for archaic Greek art and architecture, it is evident that this "Greek phase" is the later of the two at Pasargadae, as some of the Greek features cannot be put much earlier than 540–530. Palace P is also the only building at Pasargadae that, in its early stage, displays any use of the so-called toothed chisel (C. NYLANDER, AJA 70:1966, 375 f.), a fact indicating its late date. It is thus possible that this palace, like the gigantic Tall-i-Takht project, was not wholly finished when Cyrus died. But the evidence (cf. below) seems rather to speak for a certain degree of completion.

that parts of this palace, such as doorways and columns, were already in place and more or less finished when Cyrus died, but that others were not. There are several examples known of a later ruler completing a building project begun by his predecessor, and explicitly mentioning this fact in his building inscription (XPc, XSa, A<sup>1</sup>Pa, D<sup>2</sup>Sb).

It is very difficult, of course, to establish how far work on this palace had proceeded when Cyrus suddenly died in 530. However, there can hardly be any doubt that the sculptures in the doorways were already finished by then.<sup>61</sup> Work on the decorative details had even progressed so far as to prepare, or even apply on the sculptures, gold applications for the eyes, girdles and garments. This would point to a high degree of finish and completion.

It was argued above that, because of several very unusual features in the extant Pasargadae inscriptions, Darius can hardly have written all of these texts. Consequently, some of them ought to have been written by Cyrus. In such a case he most probably wrote at least part of the inscriptions in Palace P. Then, however, it would be difficult to assume that the building was unfinished when Cyrus died and then completed by Darius and inscribed by him to commemorate this fact. Thus, even if the assumption of the palace having been unfinished and then completed by Darius is difficult to disprove, it seems less probable.

Then there is the other possibility. We may imagine a later ruler inscribing a monument of a predecessor just because the building, or part of the building, had been left without an inscription. A good example of this is Xerxes' inscription at Van (XV): ... "and this niche he (= Darius) gave orders to dig out, where he did not cause an inscription to be engraved. Afterwards I gave order to engrave this inscription ..." <sup>62</sup> This may serve, at first sight, as a rather good parallel to the CMb-DMa inscription, and we would hardly be more entitled to conclude, on this evidence, that Cyrus did not know the Old Persian script than we are allowed to assume the same for Darius when seeing this inscription by Xerxes. For some reason or other Darius left the niche uninscribed, and later on Xerxes changed this and told us so. The CMb-DMa text may have meant exactly the same, neither more nor less. And thus it may

<sup>61</sup> An early date for these sculptures seems ascertained both by stylistic observations and the fact that the toothed chisel has not been used in this connection; cf. C. NYLANDER, AJA 69:1965, 53, n. 30, 31. The CMb-DMA text seems to point in the same direction.

<sup>62</sup> OP, 152 f.

seem bold to assume on this evidence that Cyrus had not written anything on *other* parts of the building or on *other* buildings.

If, however, the various anomalies of the Pasargadae texts (cf. 6) are impossible to attribute to Darius and, consequently, must date to Cyrus' time, then this "uninscribed" theory is impossible. Then the palace was already wholly or partly inscribed.

It appears that neither the "unfinished" nor the "uninscribed" theory is convincing as an explanation of the existence of the CMb-DMa inscription. But the categorical interpretation of HINZ and BORGER is not satisfying either, as it is very probable that there were already at least some Cyrus inscriptions in the Palace. The CMb-DMa text must then be wholly or at least partly reinterpreted to account for this fact (cf. 9). However, the discussion of the different possibilities of explaining the existence of the CMb-DMa text tends to show that there ought to be some special reason behind this inscription, as neither the "unfinished" nor the "uninscribed" theories seem to fit very well. HINZ and others may still be right about the text referring somehow to the Darius introduction of the Achaemenian script and its consequences at Pasargadae. But for the time being these fragments and their difficult interpretation hardly warrant their being used as a definite proof of this theory.

### 8. Pasargadae Fragment No. 5

It was mentioned above that only some new find would settle this question satisfactorily. Recently the important and well conducted research of the British Institute of Persian Studies has resulted in recovering new evidence which points in a definite direction. Fragment No. 5, referred to above (Fig. 6) was identified by D. STRONACH as part of one of the Old Persian versions of the CMc inscriptions. If this is correct, it will have important consequences for the whole CMc group and, possibly, for the whole problem of the Pasargadae inscriptions.

There can be no doubt that the fragment is part of a typically Achaemenian robe. However, the piece is astonishing in several ways. As is well known, the usual place to inscribe texts on an Achaemenian robe is the lower part of the dress, where the central, vertical folds offer a suitable place (Persepolis) or the obliquely sloping folds to the right and left of these central folds (the Elamite and Babylonian versions of the CMc group). Now, the fragment No. 5 shows part of an inscription in another position, hitherto unparalleled among extant Achaemenian

texts. This fragment undoubtedly shows part of a sleeve with its typical, serially stacked folds and the closely spaced folds over the buttock just below the girdle, which has been applied as a metal piece fastened with rivets.<sup>63</sup> Thus, for some reason, the Old Persian inscription had been engraved on the outer fold of the sleeve. This is never found elsewhere, and there must be some very special reason for it. (Cf. Addenda.)

Now the question is whether this fragment really does belong, as suggested by D. STRONACH, to the CMc group of garment texts from Palace P. First it must be pointed out that there are no traces whatever of any other sculptures of this kind in any of the Pasargadae constructions. And there is no reason to expect, considered the architectural types of the known remains, any more sculptures with the Achaemenian robe. Secondly, the fragment must belong to a royal figure, as is clear from the inscription and also from the gold applications, which were reserved for such sculptures. Thirdly, if there ever was any Old Persian version of the CMc text—and there is no reason to doubt that there was—then it must have been written in some unusual place. Enough is preserved of the lower parts of the royal figures in Palace P to show that no Old Persian text was written on them.<sup>64</sup>

Thus we have here a combination of two unusual features: the lower parts of royal sculptures, inlaid with gold and inscribed in Elamite and Babylonian but not in Old Persian + a fragment of a royal figure with a suitable text written on a sleeve. These two facts tally and combine too well to be seriously doubted. The reason to write on a sleeve can only be that, for some reason, there was no aesthetically or practically satisfying place left for this text on the other parts of the sculpture. Why? Probably because the other possible places were already occupied by (a) gold applications, (b) Elamite and Babylonian texts.

There are thus strong reasons to accept this fragment as part of the otherwise totally lost Old Persian versions of the CMc text.

However, if this is correct, it will have some very important consequences. This fragment does not use the *scriptio plena* XŠĀYAΘIYA for “king” but a logogram (XŠ). The use of this logogram is generally and rightly considered a late feature. It is never used elsewhere in Pasargadae, nor in the Behistun inscription, where this labour-saving device would

<sup>63</sup> This interpretation is confirmed by a comparison with similar representations in Persepolis; cf. Persepolis I, pl. 143 A.

<sup>64</sup> Unless the text was written on the metal application covering the two central, vertical folds. This, however, seems less probable.

probably have been welcome, as the word "king" is there used more than a hundred times. This logogram seems to come into use only later in the reign of Darius.

Consequently, if this fragment belongs to the CMc group—as seems most probable—then we have a strong indication that the Old Persian CMc text was actually written by Darius.

## 9. Conclusion II

Pasargadae Fragment No. 5 is important in at least two respects: it more or less proves that Darius wrote the Old Persian version of the CMc inscription and it hints at why he did so.

The answer to this must be that the Elamite and Babylonian versions together with the gold applications were already in place and thus prevented a more even and symmetrical disposition of all three texts. The differences in the disposition between the Pasargadae drapery texts and those in Persepolis were pointed out above (cf. 5), and it is clear that at Pasargadae the metal application and the flanking Elamite and Babylonian texts constitute a compositional whole (Fig. 4). The only possibility, in my opinion, to account for the unusual CMc pattern (texts on folds *and* sleeve) is to assume that the Old Persian text is a secondary addition, originally unplanned, to the earlier composition. The use of the logogram for "king" points in the same direction.

Thus two important facts emerge: (a) Darius wrote the Old Persian text of the CMc inscription, (b) the Elamite and Babylonian versions were already in place by then and thus influenced the unusual position of the Old Persian version. These facts combine into a new perspective upon the problem of the Pasargadae inscriptions. It has always been assumed that all the three versions of the Pasargadae texts were written at the same time. This new evidence tends to show that this was not the case.

In Chapter 6 were summarized a number of facts speaking against the assumption that *all* Pasargadae texts were written by Darius. Against him and, consequently, in favour of Cyrus having written texts at Pasargadae speak:

1. The improbability of Cyrus' government having been illiterate.
2. The long use of Elamite and Babylonian in his kingdom.
3. The general and very common practice among Near Eastern rulers to provide their buildings with royal inscriptions.

4. The high number of texts at Pasargadae (at least 24).
5. The use of "I", more or less indicating Cyrus as acting agent.
6. The use of royal titles and formulae, strikingly different from all other Achaemenian texts.
7. The variations in execution and arrangement of the Pasargadae texts as compared to those in Persepolis etc.

On the other hand, for a Darius origin of at least some Pasargadae texts speak:

1. The use of the late logogram for "king" in what is most probably the Old Persian version of CMe.
2. The unusual position of this Old Persian CMe text, which tends to show that it did not belong to the original composition.
3. The use of a word-divider of an apparently later type (↗) than that used in the Behistun text (↖), and some other epigraphical features of the Pasargadae inscriptions.<sup>65</sup>
4. The enigmatic and fragmentary CMb-DMa text with its possible hints that Darius has written something in Palace P.<sup>66</sup>

At first sight these two groups of arguments may seem much at variance with each other. However, it is possible to resolve most, if not all, of the apparent contradictions by considering another solution which, to my knowledge, has not been discussed hitherto. It seems absolutely clear from the 7 arguments listed above that Cyrus must have written an essential part of the Pasargadae texts. On the other hand, it is as clear that Darius wrote at least some.

I therefore suggest, that Cyrus wrote the Pasargadae texts in Elamite and Babylonian, the languages current in his Anzanite realm. Later on, Darius added Old Persian versions of the same texts in the same places.

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<sup>65</sup> It was suggested by W. HINZ that the shape of the word-divider used in the Behistun text indicates an earlier stage and was later abandoned in favour of the more practical one, which is used in all other Achaemenian inscriptions, including those at Pasargadae; cf. ZDMG 93:1939, 380 and D.IppA, 35 f. This observation is passed over somewhat too lightly by R. GHIRSHMAN (JNES 24:1965, 244). For further observations on the use of word-dividers in differing ways at Behistun as compared to other texts, cf. M. A. DANDAMAEV, D.IppA, 36.

<sup>66</sup> It was shown above that there are some difficulties in explaining the existence of this inscription by theories of the palace having been either unfinished or un-inscribed. Consequently, there ought to be some special and unusual reason for this text. Epigraphically there seems to be no doubt as to the statement that something was written in the palace.

This is sure for the CMc text and very possible for the CMa group. The use in the CMa group of the later type of word-divider speaks for this theory, and the absence of the logogram for ‘king’ does not speak against this assumption, as the symmetry of the lines would then have been upset because of the reduced number of signs (cf. Figs. 1, 2).

This solution would account both for the numerous anomalies in the Pasargadae texts as compared to other Achaemenian inscriptions and for the fact that Darius wrote additional versions in unusual positions. If Darius just had previously existing texts translated into Old Persian and written in the same places, then number, execution and unusual titular features get their natural explanation as conditioned by the already existing Cyrus texts. Thus we need not dwell any more upon the apparent contradictions between titular modesty and great number of texts. Nor do we need to speculate too much about Darius’ ambiguous attitude to the Cyrus branch of the family or delve too deeply into Darius’ psyche. What Darius did was quite natural: to add to the inscriptions written on the palaces a version in the third—or rather first—imperial language, now that this was possible. This was not merely a tribute to Cyrus but rather a natural action to improve some now unnecessary imperfections in what was and for a long time remained the coronation city of the Achaemenian dynasty.

In this way the problem of the much debated authenticity of the Pasargadae inscriptions with its sharply antithetic positions is resolved into a kind of Solomonic “both-and”. The Pasargadae inscriptions are authentic in the sense that Cyrus wrote the first two versions of the texts in all the palaces. But Darius added Old Persian translations.

For the much discussed problem of the Old Persian script these observations and arguments seem rather decisive, a somewhat confusing fact for the author of this article who, for a long time, held an opposite view.<sup>67</sup> There can hardly be any other reason for Darius to write Old Persian texts in strange positions, using late logograms and word-dividers, than that there were no Old Persian texts written in these places yet. And the reason for this is simple: there was no Old Persian cuneiform script until Darius introduced it.<sup>68</sup>

<sup>67</sup> Cf. n. 55.

<sup>68</sup> The ingenious chronological arguments by R. GHIRSHMAN, tending to show the all too short time available for Darius to create a new script and to have the great Behistun text composed and engraved before 520, can hardly constitute a definite proof against a Darius origin of the Achaemenian script. Cf. JNES 24:1965, 246 ff.

The following abbreviations are used:

AA	Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae
AfO	Archiv für Orientforschung
AJA	American Journal of Archaeology
ALI SAMI	ALI SAMI, Pasargadae—The Oldest Imperial Capital of Iran (Shiraz 1956)
ANET	J. PRITCHARD, Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament (1955) <sup>2</sup>
APAW	Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften
BSOS	Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies
D.IppA	M. A. DANDAMAEV, Iran pri pervykh Akhemenidakh (Moscow, 1963)
H.AMI	E. HERZFELD, Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran
H.API	E. HERZFELD, Altpersische Inschriften (1938)
H.AHI	E. HERZFELD, Archaeological History of Iran (1935)
H.IAE	E. HERZFELD, Iran in the Ancient East (1941)
H.IF	E. HERZFELD & F. SARRE, Iranische Felsreliefs (1910)
HbAp	W. BRANDENSTEIN & M. MAYRHOFER, Handbuch des Altpersischen (1964)
HbOr	Handbuch der Orientalistik
JAOS	Journal of the American Oriental Society
JCS	Journal of Cuneiform Studies
JNES	Journal of Near Eastern Studies
KIA	F. WEISSBACH, Die Keilinschriften der Achämeniden (1911)
KÖNIG	F. W. KÖNIG, Die Elamischen Königsinschriften (1965)
LEWY	J. LEWY, Hebrew Union College Annual 25:1954
MDP	Mémoires de la Délégation en Perse
OP	R. KENT, Old Persian (1953) <sup>2</sup>
Or. Suec.	Orientalia Suecana
Papyrusfund	E. MEYER, Der Papyrusfund von Elephantine (1912)
PTT	G. CAMERON, Persepolis Treasury Tablets (1948)
Persepolis	E. F. SCHMIDT, Persepolis I (1953), II (1957)
STRONACH (1–3)	D. STRONACH, "Excavations at Pasargadae—First (Sec.; Third) Preliminary Report". Iran 1–3 (1963–1965)
VDI	Vestnik Drevnej Istorii
ZDMG	Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft

### Резюме

Советские, венгерские и польские исследователи внесли очень важный вклад в дискуссию о возникновении и культурном фоне древнеперсидского письма. Резюме на русском языке является выражением оценки работ этих коллег, результаты и точки зрения которых были использо-

ваны в настоящей статье, а также желания, чтобы специалисты восточноевропейских стран в большей мере облегчали работу других коллег составлением подобных резюме своих ценных и зачастую стимулирующих работ.

Многолетняя дискуссия о происхождении и времени возникновения древнеперсидского письма в наши дни может сосредоточиться главным образом на двух фактах: § 70 Бехистунской надписи и сделанные от имени Кира II надписи в Пасаргадах. Если правы те исследователи, которые толкуют § 70 как претензию Дария I на изобретение древнеперсидской клинописи, то Пасаргадские надписи нельзя отнести к времени Кира, а надо предполагать, что они были написаны позже — Дарием. Если, с другой стороны, можно подтвердить, что Пасаргадские надписи аутентичны, то надо пересмотреть § 70 Бехистунской надписи и подойти к проблеме по-другому.

Фрагментарное состояние Бехистунского текста и различные лексические проблемы не дают возможности единого истолкования § 70. Поэтому, кажется, в настоящее время надо подойти к проблеме скорее с другой стороны, то есть исходя из Пасаргадских надписей. Анализ найденных там надписей и их оформления поэтому должен способствовать решению и большей проблемы ахеменидского письма.

Самыми важными в Пасаргадах являются группы СМа и СМс а также надпись СМЬ-ДМа, наверняка с правом приписанная Дарию. Последняя, однако, не свидетельствует о том, что все тексты в Пасаргадах были написаны Дарием, хотя существует такое мнение (отд. 7). Против теории, что Дарий написал все Пасаргадские тексты, говорит их доказанное большое количество, 24–30 шт. (отд. 3). Кажется вероятным, что Дарий, так же как Ксеркс (XV), мог заявить, что на месте, где не было надписи Кира, теперь он сделал надпись. Гораздо менее вероятно, что Дарий впоследствии обогатил дворец своего предшественника (члена соперничающей ветви рода) более чем 20 надписями под его же именем, начиная словом «я».

Анализ использованных в персидских надписях королевских титулов также говорит за то, что Пасаргадские тексты не были написаны Дарием (отд. 4). Они отличаются в трех фундаментальных отношениях от всех других персидских надписей, включая и надписи Дария: 1. в них в титуловых контекстах употребляется простой титул «король»; 2. никогда не встречается титул «король королей», который иначе почти всегда присутствует; 3. только в этих из всех древнеперсидских надписей не называется имя отца, которое иначе, и в самых кратких надписях, никогда не пропускается.

За то, что Дарий не является автором всех Пасаргадских надписей, говорят и некоторые факты, касающиеся их расположения, особенно группы СМс, которая в этом отношении совсем отличается от соответствующих текстов Дария и Ксеркса в Персеполе. Также кажется мало вероятным, что Кир, хотя располагал эламским и вавилонским языками, совсем отказался обогащать свои дворцы надписями, даже если при нем еще не было древнеперсидского письма. Таким образом, как кажется,

имеются серьезные аргументы в пользу того, что Кир написал по крайней мере часть существующих сегодня текстов, так как имеются серьезные аргументы против написания их Дарием.

С другой стороны, некоторые факты несомненно свидетельствуют о том, что Дарий действительно написал тексты. Таким свидетельством является прежде всего только что найденный фрагмент № 5 с остатком королевской надписи в складке рукава королевской статуи. Употребление в данном тексте, который наверняка является частью теперь исчезнувших древнеперсидских версий СМс, поздней логограммы «король», а также странное и необычное расположение текста говорят за то, что этот текст является более поздним дополнением. Этот факт вместе с употреблением в этих Пасаргадских текстах более поздней формы знака препинания дает возможность предположить, что древнеперсидские тексты здесь были сочинены Дарием.

Следует вывод, что Кир писал тексты на эламском и вавилонском языках, которые были ходовыми в его королевстве. Потом Дарий добавил древнеперсидские переводы уже существовавших надписей. Этим объясняются все выше упомянутые странные в отношении их числа, использованных в них титулов и пр. Этим и дается явное подтверждение мнения, на котором энергично настаивали прежде всего В. Гинц и М. А. Дандамаев, что основоположником древнеперсидского письма был Дарий.

### Addenda

I have had the privilege of having the comments of Professors W. HINZ and R. GHIRSHMAN on my manuscript. Prof. HINZ has kindly suggested improvements on my rendering of the Elamite and Babylonian versions of the CMb–DMa text. He also pointed out to me, that the German investigations at Behistun under the direction of Prof. H. LUSCHEY had arrived to a similar conclusion as to the Behistun text: the Old Persian version of the text seems to have been written definitely later than the other two. This will be further discussed by Prof. LUSCHEY in the forthcoming publication of these important investigations (*Teheraner Forschungen* 4; cf. also H. LUSCHEY, *La Montagne de Bisutun et ses énigmes. Archaeologia* 18, sept.–oct. 1967, 61 ff.). Prof. HINZ also points out certain variations in the form of the Old Persian YA-sign, which in Behistun has a somewhat different and aesthetically less pleasing form, not in use in Pasargadae or in any other context. Prof. GHIRSHMAN has several remarks on my suggested identification of Pasargadae Fragment No. 5, which he does not accept. These problems cannot be treated further in this context but will be discussed in my forthcoming book “Achaemenian Problems”. I am most grateful to Professors HINZ and GHIRSHMAN for their kind interest and valuable help.

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## ASKO PARPOLA

### On the Jaiminīyaśrautasūtra and Its Annexes

*Abbreviations.* T. AUFRECHT, *Catalogus catalogorum*, [I]–III, Leipzig 1891–1903; *B<sup>1</sup>*, *B<sup>2</sup>* = see n. 2; *Ba* = see n. 4; *Bh.* = Bhavatrāta; BHAGAVADDATTA, Vaidika vānmaya kā itihāsa I, 2 ed., Amritsar 1956; *C* = catalogue; W. CALAND, *Der Ārṣeyakalpa des Sāmaveda hrsg. und bearbeitet*, Leipzig 1908 (AbhKM XII,3); *id.*, *Pañcavिष्णा-brāhmaṇa translated*, Calcutta 1931 (Bibl. Indica, 255); *G*. = D. GAASTRA, *Bijdrage tot de kennis van het vedische ritueel. Jaiminīyaśrautasūtra*, Leiden 1906 (Diss. Utrecht); D. V. GARGE, *Citations in Śabara-bhāṣya*, Poona 1952 (Deccan College Diss. Ser., 8); *H<sup>1</sup>*, *H<sup>2</sup>* = see n. 6; A. HILLEBRANDT, *Rituallitteratur, Vedic Opfer und Zauber*, Strassburg 1897 (Grundriss der Indo-Arischen Philologie und Altertumskunde, III: 2); *M<sup>1</sup>*, *M<sup>2</sup>*, *M<sup>3</sup>* = see nn. 3 and 7; V. RAGHAVAN, *The present position of Vedic recitation and Vedic sakhas*, Kumbhakonam 1962; K. S. RAMASWAMI Śāstri Śiromani, *A descr. Catalogue of MSS. at the Oriental Institute*, Baroda, Vol. 2, Baroda 1942 (Gaekwad's Oriental Ser., 96); L. RENOU, *Les écoles védiques et la formation du Veda*, Paris 1947 (Cahiers de la Société Asiatique, 9); L. RENOU & J. FILLIOZAT, *L'Inde classique*, Tome 2, Paris 1953 (Bibl. de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient, 3); *Sh.* = *Jaiminīya-śrauta-sūtra-vṛtti of Bhavatrāta*, edited by Premnidhi SHASTRI, New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture, April 1966 (Śāṭa-Pitaka Series, 40), xvi, 348 pp. [in devanāgarī], Rs. 40, —; P. P. S. SASTRI, *A descr. Catalogue of the Sanskrit MSS. in the Tanjore Mahārāja Serfoji's Sarasvatī Mahāl Library*, TANJORE, Vol. 4–5, Srirangam 1929; VEDA VYASA, “The literature of the Jaiminīyas”, *Proceedings and Transactions of the Fifth Indian Oriental Conference November 19–22, 1928*, Vol. 1, Lahore 1930, pp. 292–298.

### § 1. Materials and Work Done so far

Almost all the important old texts belonging to the Jaiminīya or Tala-vakāra school of the Sāmaveda<sup>1</sup> were discovered, and in part edited, by Arthur Coke Burnell about a century ago. He also succeeded in pro-

<sup>1</sup> With a few, mostly rather dubious, exceptions, only the texts of the Jaiminīya and Kauthuma-Rāṇayaniya schools have come down to us; see, for the present, W. Caland, *Die Jaiminīya-Saṃhitā mit einer Einleitung über die Sāmaveda-Literatur*, Breslau 1907 (Indische Forschungen, 2), p. 1 sqq.; *id.*, *PB tr.*, p. i sqq.; Renou,

euring the two grantha MSS. which formed the basis of the *editio princeps* of the Jaiminīyaśrautasūtra published (with an introduction, a Dutch translation, and indexes) by Miss Dieuke Gaastra in 1906.<sup>2</sup> The text, however, comprised only a description of the agniṣṭoma (the archetype of all the soma sacrifices), while only one fifth of the corresponding Kauthuma text, the Śrautasūtra of Lātyāyana (as well as its Rāṇāyanīya version, by Drāhyāyāṇa), treats of this subject. The only substitute for commentaries was supplied by the anonymous Śrautakārikā contained in the other Ms. and edited by Gaastra as an appendix. Gaastra remarked that the work constitutes a whole complete in itself, and from the repetition of the last word she concluded that it is apparently not a part of a more extensive text (p. xvii sq.). She considered it highly probable, however, that more material on the śrauta ritual of the Jaiminīyas existed at one time: a Jaiminiśūtrapariśeṣa has been quoted by Dhanvin on DSS 3,4,14 (*ibid.*). It may here be remarked that that title, involving a later supplement to Jaimini's Sūtra, was given inexactly: Dhanvin says *l.c. tathā ca sūtrapariśeṣe jaimininoktaṃ: sa khalu pādam ārabhyāramen, nāntarena pāde vyavānyād iti.*

That MSS. of a commentary on the complete text of the JSS (not only *Les écoles*, p. 87 sqq. These are also the only schools known from the epigraphy, cf. Renou, "The Vedic Schools and the Epigraphy", *Siddha-Bhāratī* (Siddheswar Varma Comm. Vol.) II, Hoshiarpur 1950, pp. 218, 221.

Talavakāra (cf. Renou, *Les écoles*, p. 92 n. 1) which is used as another name of the Jaiminīya school appears as an attribute of the eponym Jaimini *i.a.* in the list of the thirteen SV teachers par excellence in JGS 1,14 (tarpaṇa). [The list contains fifteen words, so two of them must be attributes (the other in *bhagavān aupamanyavaḥ*): it is impossible, also for other reasons, to take *talavakāra* as a N.pr. This remark is only because Shastri (p. i sq.) has recently done so; referring also to the fact that J. is called *talavakāraguru* in some ślokas quoted by him (these verses are to be found *i.a.* at the beginning of the MSS. of the JB, see 1954 ed. *a.l.*), he declares J. and T. to be teacher and pupil (thus already Bhagavaddatta, p. 318) which should explain why the two names have been used indiscriminately "like Sāyaṇa and Mādhava".] Cf. also Raghavan, p. 9. The word *talava* 'musician' is found for the first time in VS 30,20; its meaning is not clear, cf. Mayrhofer, *Etym. Wb.*, *s.v.* In Vedic times the Jaiminīyas were called Śātyāyanins.

<sup>2</sup> See Abbr. *s.v.* Gaastra. It has been reviewed (according to Renou, *Bibliographie védique*, Paris 1931, p. 75) by Henry, *Revue critique* 1906 II, p. 441; Kirste, WZKM 20, 1906, p. 396; Oldenberg, DLZ 1907, Sp. 1380; Speyer, *Museum* 14, p. 206. The MSS. [=B<sup>1</sup> and B<sup>2</sup>] have been described by Gaastra, p. ix sqq. and by A. B. Keith, *Catalogue of the Sanskrit and Prākrit MSS. in the Library of the India Office*, Vol. II, Oxford 1935, p. 104 sq. (nos. 4564–5), *i.a.* with the additional information that B<sup>2</sup> "is a copy of a 'MS. at Uttoneri', made in 1878" and that the corrections of it in red ink are "from 'an old Tinnevelly MS.'".

the agniṣṭoma portion), by Bhavatrāṭa, still exist in Lahore, Baroda and Madras, was announced in 1928 by Veda Vyasa (p. 297 sq.); he also knew of a new Ms. of the edited part in Baroda.

This was known to Louis Renou in 1947 when in his *Les écoles* (§ 93), he briefly but tellingly characterized the JŚS as edited by Gaastra.

But new information on the JŚS was already available then, for detailed descriptions, with extensive extracts, of two of the Bhavatrāṭa MSS. had been published in 1937 (Madras)<sup>3</sup> and 1942 (Baroda).<sup>4</sup> Now there were two MSS. of the Agniṣṭomasūtra in Baroda.<sup>5</sup> The Lahore Ms(s?) indicated by Veda Vyasa is probably the older of the two devanāgarī transcripts of Bhavatrāṭa's commentary which in 1959 were said to be in the Viśeśvarānand Vedic Research Institute, Hoshiarpur;<sup>6</sup> or is there something in the Punjab University Library, Lahore?

Last year an edition of Bhavatrāṭa's *vṛtti*, by Premnidhi Shastri, has finally appeared, together with a seven-page introduction in Sanskrit, a table of contents, and three indexes of the authorities quoted (see Abbreviations s.v. Shastri). But unfortunately it leaves much to be desired. The editor believes that "only one single Ms. of the work exists in the whole world": he has used a copy (*pratilipi*) procured for him "from Madras" (described only as "abounding in scriptural errors and not infrequently having lacunas") (p. x).<sup>7</sup> It is not possible to determine

<sup>3</sup> S. Kuppuswami Sastri and P. P. Subrahmanyam Sastri, *A triennial Catalogue of MSS. collected during the triennium 1928/29 to 1930/31 for the Government Oriental MSS. Library, Madras*, Vol. 7,1 Sanskrit, Madras 1937, p. 7585 sqq.: R. No. 5507, paper, 340 foll. bound in two vols., a devanāgarī transcript made "in 1930–31 from a MS. of Dr. Kunhan Rajah, Adyar Library, Madras", "complete" [=M<sup>2</sup>]. The extracts correspond to p. 1, line 3–2,17; 10,9–10 (col.); and 346,4–23 of Shastri's ed. — A description of the original [=M<sup>1</sup>] does not seem to be available, yet.

<sup>4</sup> Ramaswami, pp. xi sq., 15, 111 sqq.: Ms. no. 11538, paper, foll. 1–46 (6000 granthas) in grantha, 47–116 (4000 gr.) in devanāgarī, copied in 1921 [=Ba]. The extracts correspond to p. 1,1–12,17–21; 2,2–8,15–17; 104,21–105,12; 112,27–117,6; 190,14–193,6; 346,7–23 of Shastri's ed. Cf. below, p. 204 sq.

<sup>5</sup> Ramaswami, p. 15: Ms. no. 9800 (A), 14 foll., and no. 10881 (A), 17 foll., both complete and written in grantha on palm-leaves.

<sup>6</sup> Vishva Bandhu, *Catalogue of VVRI Ms. Collection*, Hoshiarpur 1959, Vol. 1, p. 32: Ms. no. 2002, 813 foll. in devanāgarī, a transcript made A.D. 1925 [=H<sup>1</sup>]: no. 6594, 392 foll., a devanāgarī transcript made A.D. 1933 [=H<sup>2</sup>]. The extracts given in Vol. 2, p. 43 sq. correspond to Shastri's ed. as follows: the beginning of H<sup>1</sup> = p. 134,27–30; the end of H<sup>1</sup> (*sarvatrety kim ekaṇ padam trir abhyastam akam vai bhavati | kah samśayah anyathā tu śakvaritum vi ...*) = ?; the beg. of H<sup>2</sup> = 1,1–4,9–12; 2,2–7; the end of H<sup>2</sup> = 204,28–31 (— *kena samgatam* /). Cf. below, p. 204 sq.

<sup>7</sup> Is this [=M<sup>3</sup>] a new copy of M<sup>1</sup> or M<sup>2</sup>, or is it M<sup>2</sup> itself? The error of M<sup>3</sup>

exactly the internal relation of the MSS. on the basis of the published extracts only; M<sup>3</sup>, Ba and H<sup>2</sup> seem to go back to a common ancestor (cf. pp. 204 sq., 211 and below); but certainly the other MSS. would have helped in construing the text:

I would read p. 1, 3 *trinetrāya* (dental *n*) with M<sup>2</sup>, Ba, H<sup>2</sup>; 9 with M<sup>3</sup> (n. 6), Ba, H<sup>2</sup>; 12 with M<sup>3</sup> (n. 7), M<sup>2</sup>, H<sup>2</sup>; 24 with M<sup>3</sup> (n. 9), M<sup>2</sup>, Ba; 25 *avandhyājñaiḥ* with Ba; 2,3 *nāmnā* with Ba, H<sup>2</sup>; 4 *parāṇī kā*<sup>o</sup> with M<sup>2</sup>, Ba; hereafter with Ba unless otherwise stated: 104,21 *athavedaṇī ... tam eva, na tu ... idaṇī yatnato*; 23 *viśvam aśnuvānā*; 26 *prasṛtam*; 105,2 *natadhiyām* (cf. M<sup>3</sup>); (3 sq. in Ba: <sup>o</sup>*pungavāḥ / --- bhavatu haimarati pādayoh*); 5 *śribhava*<sup>o</sup>; 112,27 *udavasāniyā*; 28 <sup>o</sup>*yiṣatā bālān*; 113 (number the first 3 verses 113–115), 1 *guror*; (117,5 *asya khalu yajñā*<sup>o</sup>); 134,29 *dakṣinām* with H<sup>1</sup> (*duktinām*); 190,14 *anumimimāhe*; 15 *yathā trika*<sup>o</sup> ... *ahotrprṛṣṭheṣu*; (17 lacuna also in Ba, but marked as between *sya* and *hṛdaye*); 18 sq. *asmābhīr vṛttikalpasya vyākhyā-kāṅkiṣī vākyāni vyākhyātāni / apramādataḥ pradeśo rakrāntavyāḥ* (?) [read *rakṣitavyāḥ* ?]; 22 *medhāvi*<sup>o</sup>; 193,1 *amṛtaṇī paścyaṇtantras* [?] *trayīm*; (2.3: Shastri's corrections are corroborated by Ba); 5 *atha ... syāmaḥ* [sūtra! supply: *athātāḥ paryadhyāyāṇī vyākhyāsyāmaḥ*] / *bhagavān* etc.; 6 read with M<sup>3</sup> (n. 3), cf. *etāṇī* Ba; 346,15 *pravītatayaśasas*; 16 read with M<sup>3</sup> (n. 5) = M<sup>2</sup>, Ba (sg. 1); 17 *paryadhyāyādyānu*<sup>o</sup> M<sup>2</sup>, Ba; 18 *pathyād anyāṇī ... klptiṇī* with Ba, cf. M<sup>3</sup> (n. 6) = M<sup>2</sup>; (20 read with Shastri = M<sup>2</sup>: Ba = M<sup>3</sup> [n. 7]; 22 *tasmai* is found in M<sup>2</sup>, missing in Ba). See also n. 7.

That all available material has not been used is not the only defect of the edition (cf. below, *passim*).<sup>8</sup> Yet it is not wholly without merit, and at all events Shastri can take credit for bringing one Ms. of this important text within the reach of scholars so that study of it may begin.

*so 'thakarmanoḥ* (p. 2 n. 1; Sh. reads *śrautakarmaṇaḥ*) where two grantha characters have been misread (the correct reading is supplied by Ba and H<sup>2</sup>: *bodhakarmanoḥ*) is found also in M<sup>2</sup>; all the *v.l.* p. 346 except n. 7 = Ba (and n. 3) are found in M<sup>2</sup>, etc. But on the other hand M<sup>2</sup> reads with Sh. at p. 1 nn. 3, 5, 6; p. 2 n. 6; p. 346 n. 7, and differs from the text with no *v.l.* at p. 1, 9 (*trina*<sup>o</sup>). 18 (*vamśāḥ*). 19 (*mātharo*); 2,9 (<sup>o</sup>*kṛtāpuruṣair*). 14 (om. *ca*). 15 (om. *sva*). 17 (*brāhmaṇe ca*). It seems most probable that M<sup>3</sup> is a copy of M<sup>2</sup>. As already noted, it is ultimately based on a grantha Ms. (cf. also *prātassavana* p. 62, 9,18,22 etc., but *ib.* 7,8 etc. also *prātahsa*<sup>o</sup>).

<sup>8</sup> Here I should only like to caution the reader against relying too much on the editor's emendations, punctuation and marking of sūtras (in bold face) and quotations (in lower case, sometimes in quotation marks). P. 193,11 sq. we read: ... *jñāyante / aneneti kalpo 'yam idaṇī* (M<sup>3</sup> [n. 7] *ahāṇī*) *cātra tasya [vyā]khyānam* (M<sup>3</sup> [n. 8] adds: *bahyo* 'ntodādrantī *taṇvidheḥ*) / *āhantātrika* (M<sup>3</sup> [n. 9?] *āhantātrakaṇī*) / *āhantātrikasya* etc. The sequel shows that we must read: ... *jñāyante 'neneti / kalpo 'yam aharjñātrakasya [vyā]khyānam / bah<v>yōco 'trodāharantī(?) tadvidher* (?) *aharjñātrakam (ā?*) / *aharjñātrakasya (ā?*) etc.

These pages contain the observations and notices made by me in reading through Shastri's edition and an account of all the materials pertaining to the JSS of which I am aware, including three new MSS. that I have been able to identify. One is a new Ms. of Bhavatrāta's commentary: it covers only a small part (pp. 243–257 in the ed.; cf. below, p. 199 and n. 50) but seems to be quite old.<sup>9</sup> On the two other, far more important MSS. see below, pp. 207 sqq. and 212 sqq.

## § 2. Bhavatrāta and His Commentary

In the introductory verses to his commentary Bhavatrāta informs us that he is descended from Kāsyapa muni, the vamśa of ṛsi Maṭhara (p. 346 he is called *maṭharakulapati*), that his father is Māṭrādatta, fully conversant with the Sāma-, Rg- and Yajurveda, knowing the true sense of the Śruti and Smṛti, compassionate as a mother, etc., and that his mother was the daughter of his teacher Brahmadatta of the lineage of Viśvāmitra. In the colophons of the agniṣṭoma part Bhavatrāta has the title *mahopādhyāya*. From the last words of the commentary (p. 346) we learn further that his work was completed by his pupil, Jayanta of the Bharadvāja gotra, who at the same time was both his son-in-law and his nephew on the sister's side.<sup>10</sup>

Brahmadatta is probably the old commentator of the Śrauta- and Grhyasūtra of Śāṅkhāyana.<sup>11</sup> Māṭrādatta has written a commentary, called *Mantramālāprayogasiddhi*, on the HiranyakeśīSS, and a *vṛtti* or *vyākhyā* on the HirGS; both are still extant.<sup>12</sup> Hillebrandt, *Rit.*, p. 30,

<sup>9</sup> *Tanjore Descr. Catal.*, Vol. 4, pp. 1613–1616: no. 2045, foll. 147–160 (for foll. 1–146 see below, p. 212 sq. and n. 68), palm leaves with grantha script, “in a very much decaying condition”; the extracts correspond to Shastri's ed., p. 243,1–24 (the beg.); 252,25; 253,6–12; 257,18–20 (the end). At the end there is *hariḥ om̄ / śrīgovindāya namaḥ* and “on the side margin of the first leaf is given ‘pratihāra-bhāṣyam, vainateyam //’.” *vainateyam* here must be a mistake. Cf. below, p. 211.

<sup>10</sup> From this Ramaswami (p. xii) was able to conclude that Bh. “probably belonged to South India”, because such a marriage was allowed only there. — In Shastri's introd. we lack any mention of Jayanta.

<sup>11</sup> Brahmadatta has been quoted by Vāsudeva in his Śāṅkhāyanagrhyasamgraha and by Nārāyaṇa in his ŚSS-paddhati (cf. Bhagavadatta, p. 212), and by Raghuṇandana in Śuddhitattva (cf. Aufrecht, *Cat. cat.* I, p. 381a); Bhagavadatta (p. 213) has identified him with Varadattasuta Ānartiya whose commentary has been edited by Hillebrandt (*The ŚSS*, Vol. II–III, Calcutta 1891, 1897 [Bibl. Ind. 99]), and this is approved by Shastri who also takes his identity with our B. for granted (p. viii).

<sup>12</sup> Only the latter has been (partly) published: *The Grhyasūtra of Hiranyakesin*,

could give no earlier a *terminus ante quem* to the latter than “vor Ende des 16. Jahrh.”

Shastri has made a remarkable discovery in tracing passages in Daṇḍin's Avantisundarikathā from which it appears that Māṭṛdatta was the author's (?) “your” dear friend (*mitra, priyasakha*) who came to see him (“you”) from Kerala; the son of the *kalpasutraṭīkākāra* and *mantrārthatattvavyākhyātā*, Bhava⟨t⟩rāta, is praised as unrivalled in the threefold Veda (*trayī* sc. *vidyā*) and its supplements (*aṅga*), the epics (*itihāsa*), the (64) arts (*kalā*) and poetry (*kavītā*) (or does all this refer to Māṭṛdatta?), and he himself for his motherly compassion upon all beings (cf. above!).<sup>13</sup> Daṇḍin's authorship is not absolutely certain;<sup>14</sup> further, Daṇḍin's date is much disputed and varies from the seventh to the ninth century.<sup>15</sup> However, it seems fairly certain that Bhavatrāta's commentary is one of the earliest that have come down to us of those on Vedic texts. On Daṇḍin's date it throws some new light: the latest author mentioned there is Śabaravarṇa (generally assigned to the fifth century<sup>16</sup>) whose view about the Subrahmanya priest's partaking of soma (MīmS 3,5,23–26) is quoted on p. 52,<sup>14</sup> together with the differing opinion of the older (very little known)<sup>17</sup> commentator of the MīmS, Bhavadāsa. This could be interpreted to mean that Bhavatrāta did not know the later mīmāṃsakas (on the same subject Dhanvin on DSS 5,1,22 refers to the opposition between Prabhākara Guru and Kumārlila who lived in the seventh and eighth century<sup>18</sup>).

From Jayanta (p. 346,<sup>17</sup>) we learn that Bhavatrāta also wrote a commentary on the JaiminīyaGS; no MSS. of this are known but some may still exist. The same applies<sup>70</sup> to his commentary on the KausītakiGS

*with extracts from the commentary of Māṭṛdatta*, ed. by J. Kirste, Wien 1889. Shastri (p. ix n. 1) informs that of the comm. on the HirSS two incomplete MSS. exist in Poona at the Bhāratetihāsasaṃśodhakamāṇḍala; but see also Ramaswami, p. 24 work no. 98 (cf. also ib. p. 124 sq. no. 105), and A. Weber, *Verzeichnis der Sanskrit- und Prākṛit-Hss. der Königl. Bibliothek zu Berlin*, Bd. II: 1, Berlin 1886, no. 1454. Cf. also Aufrecht, *Cat. cat.* I, p. 448a. — Addition in n. 70.

<sup>13</sup> Pp. 13 sq., 17, quoted by Shastri, p. viii sq. The edition has not been specified; I know of only one, by M. Rāmakṛṣṇa Kavi, Madras 1924 (Dakshinabharati Ser., 3). Would this source yield more information?

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Renou & Filliozat, § 1836.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Renou & Filliozat, § 1559; M. Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature*, Vol. III: 1, tr. S. Jhā, Delhi 1963, p. 11 sqq.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Renou & Filliozat, § 1373; Garge, p. 23 sqq.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. Garge, p. 8.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Renou & Filliozat, § 1373; Garge, p. 9.

(=ŚāṅkhGS) of which Raghavan (p. 2 sq.) makes mention; the source is not given; but the statement is corroborated by the number of quotations and references to "Kauṣītaki" in his JSS commentary (see below, p. 190). In this connection (cf. also Brahmadatta), I should like to call attention to the "striking parallels between the Jaiminīyas and the Śāṅkh." collected by Lokesh Chandra<sup>19</sup> and to the fact that the Śāṅkhāyanins have always been few in number and unpopular: the Kauthumas (rivaling the Jaiminīyas!) have declared that "none of the descendants of Kuṣītaka amounts to much" (PB 17,4,3).<sup>20</sup> Veda Vyasa has told (*op.c.*) that his agents had found one Ms. of Bhavatrāṭa's commentary on the Jaiminīyabrahmaṇa (he had, however, not yet seen it himself), of which he had already found a mention in a colophon of one of his newly discovered Mss.; as far as I know, nothing has since been heard of that work (I have not even found a reference to this announcement); it does not appear in the colophons of the Mss. used in the JB edition. To return to Raghavan, he gives (*ibid.*) us another new piece of information about Bhavatrāṭa: "his family migrated from Tiṭṭagudi (Vasiṣṭha Kuti) in South Arcot to Kerala". (The wording is such that "his" refers to Bh.; but to judge from Dāṇḍin, Raghavan means Māṭrādatta mentioned in the intermediate clause.)

As regards Jayanta, I quote Hillebrandt, *Rit.*, p. 26: "Ebenfalls in dieser Kārikā wird Jayanta, ein Kommentator über das Āśv.GSūtra angeführt, Vater Abhinanda's und Sohn Kānta's, Enkel von Kalyānasvāmin (Anantadeva nennt ihn im Saṃskārakaustubha als Vṛttikāra). Da Abhinanda nicht später als 830–850 A.D. gelebt haben kann, dürfte die Jayantavṛtti mit der älteste bekannte Kommentar zu Āśv. sein." Cf. also Aufrecht, *Cat. cat.* I, p. 200b. At least the date would fit our Jayanta. On the parts of the JSS-vṛtti written by him see below, p. 205.

Bhavatrāṭa's commentary of the JSS is not only one of the oldest but also one of the best of its kind. His style is similar to that of Dhanvin, the commentator of the DSS, who must also have lived in South-India, though a little later (cf. above); without being prolix he is circumstantial. For a specimen cf. below, p. 206.

On dubious points the various possibilities and differing opinions are minutely examined. "In olden times, just as in the present day, the Brahmanical etiquette forbade a direct opposition against doctrines pro-

<sup>19</sup> In his introduction to the ŚSS transl. of W. Caland edited by him, Nagpur 1953 (Sarasvati-Vihara Ser., 32), p. xiv sq.

<sup>20</sup> References in Renou, *Les écoles*, p. 57.

pounded by an older teacher who belongs to the same spiritual family (vidyāvamśa) as oneself”;<sup>21</sup> that is why Bhavatrāta while criticizing his predecessors does not mention them by name but uses the expression *kecit* ‘some’ (and so does also Dhanvin): Shastri (p. viii) does not believe that previous commentators of the JSS are meant but this is beyond any doubt.<sup>22</sup> Most of his definitions of the technical terms are very precise and clearer than those hitherto known (cf. e.g. *āgāh* p. 209,1 sq. and below, p. 198; *anugāna* 254,19; *āvirgāna* [cf. below], *leśagāna*, *channagāna* p. 201 sqq. [cf. on LSS 3,1,12.14; DSS 7,1,14–15]; *pragitāni* below, p. 206 [cf. Agnisvāmin on LSS 6,1,1 and *pragāna* in PuṣpaS 9,22], etc.). We are also informed of the Jaiminiya values of certain terms (cf. e.g. p. 256,7 *upāyo nāma upadravasvarayuktād nidhanāt pūrvo vidhā: e, hiyā* [read so?], *hāvū, vā iti*; p. 217 sq. *upagraha*, etc.).

The commentary also gives other information on the Gānas, not least on the Ūha- and ūhyagāna of which virtually nothing has previously been known:

P. 201,3 sqq.: *āvir iti vispaṣṭam yonigatād abhinnam iṣadbhinnam vā gānam / yathā kauthumānām ūhah / ūrdhvam cāgnīṣṭomād asmākam bhavatu / kauthumohō yoner abhāvād āvirgānasyodāharaṇam / asmadūhas tv anudāharaṇam iva / yonau hy adr̄ṣṭam iha bahu dr̄ṣyate / sarvogdīthopadraवāñām channādītvām keśāñ cit svarāñāñ kruṣṭatvotpatti prarohabāhulyam ityādi.* (Cf. PuṣpaS 8,184 and SUB III p. 29 and the comm. a. l.) From p. 141,20 sqq. we learn that the sāmans of the rāthantara agniṣṭoma to be sung on the stanzas recorded in the five adhyāyas of the JS from 3,1,1 onwards, have been handed down at the beginning of the ūha, the āmahiyyava first and the yajñāyajñiya last; p. 254,23 sqq.: in the ūha of the Jaiminiyas the mahādivākirtya sāman has ten anugānas and not eight (thus *eke* [not the Kauthumas]); p. 251,3 sqq.: “there are many schools in the SV, some of them are known to possess a complete ūha, some only for the jyotiṣṭoma, the twelve-day-rite, and the ‘course of the cows’ (i.e., the three archetypes), and some none.”<sup>23</sup>

<sup>21</sup> G. Bühler, *The sacred laws of the Āryas ... translated*, Vol. I, Oxford 1879 (The Sacred Books of the East, 2), p. xxi.

<sup>22</sup> In addition to the three places registered by Shastri (p. viii) *kecit* appear in this sense p. 38,20 sq.; 42,15 sq.; 69,23 sqq.; 76,18 sqq.; 79,9; 93,25; 118,9 sqq. Moreover, there are four cases where Bhavatrāta rejects the reading or *varia lectio* adopted by “some”: p. 203,17 sqq. *yathe ... iti / prakarṣeṇa śerate 'smiṇ avayavā iti praśayāḥ samudāyah / adhyetṛpramādajo vā śakārah / pracaya iti mūlapāṭha iti kecit / tad aśobhanam, aśrutatvāt, uktavad api nirvaktum śaktatvāt*; likewise 251,16 sqq.; 257,4 sq. 10 sqq.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. further *ūharahasye*, p. 22; 74; *chandas(yāni)* ~ *ūhasāmāni* 83; *chandas* ~ *ūhe* 205; *yonicchandas* ~ *ūhacchandas* 267; *ūhāmnāya* 148; 175, 231; 234; 238, etc.

P. 258 gives important information on the six tones (*svara*) of the Jaiminiya chant,<sup>24</sup> viz., where they are produced (*jāyante*): *kruṣṭa* = *mūrdhani*, *prathama* = *lalāṭe*, *dvitiya* = *bhruvor madhye*, *ṛ̥tiya* = *mukhe*, *caturtha* = *kaṇṭhadeśe*, *mandra* = *urasi*, and how these tones are indicated with the fingers.<sup>25</sup> On the tones cf. also p. 217,2 sqq.

As already pointed out by Veda Vyasa (*op.c.*), the commentary contains very many quotations from the JB, and is thus of importance to the study of this text, too. But Bhavatrāṭa has also quoted many other works. In this connection I should like to draw attention to the fact that he has done a lot more than most commentators for the reader by frequently adding, also when his own Brāhmaṇa and Sūtra is concerned, such helpful hints as indications of the beginning ("..." *ity adhikṛtya*) or the name or subject (*dvādaśābrāhmaṇe*; *paryadhyāye vakṣyate*, etc.) of the respective section. As a rule, the *rcaḥ* (JS) have been verified in the present edition, as have most quotations from Pāṇini and the Miś, others only occasionally; the verifications are not always reliable.<sup>26</sup> Shastri's indexes are defective.<sup>27</sup> I have not taken great pains to trace quotations, but have identified some of them; from the following list which is naturally far from complete but should contain all the cases where Bhavatrāṭa has mentioned the text by name, I have excluded the JS (on the Gānas see above), the JB (many quotations are easy to trace by means of the references given below, § 4), the JSS (on which cf. below, p. 206 sq.), and (unless identified) such general designations as *śākhāntare* (*śrūyate*, *vihitam* etc.), *śrutyantare*, *paratantre*, *pareśām*, *paravacanam*

<sup>24</sup> Cf. Renou, *Les écoles*, p. 97 (sq.) n. 1; of the seventh tone (*atīsvārya* [read so also here?]) Bh. remarks (p. 217,3 sq.): *sa tv asmākam āsurāyaṇānāṁ bādarāyaṇānāṁ iti na dṛṣyate gītāv, dṛṣyate tu kauthumādīnām*. This recognition of Āsurāyaṇa (mentioned in the varpiśas of the BĀU; cf. Renou, *op.c.*, p. 90 and 134 n. 1) and Bādarāyaṇa (known as a SV sage from the varpiśa at the end of the Sāmavidhāna-brāhmaṇa) as belonging to the Jaiminiya school is also of great interest. — On the tones in general see esp. Simon, PuspaS p. 523 sqq.; Rāmanātha Dikshit, ed. of the Sāmatantra (Varanasi 1961), p. 8 sqq.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. Renou, *Les écoles*, p. 97 (sq.) n. 1; Raghavan, p. 10.

<sup>26</sup> The pratīka p. 2,2 does not refer to PB 1,1,1 (thus Shastri) but to JSS 1,1,1; 22,2 not to JS 2,6,2 but 4,12,6–8; 32,17 not to PB 4,1 but to JB 1,342 (*asmākam api śrutau!*), etc.

<sup>27</sup> There are a number of omissions; with one exception, only one reference is given; no difference has been made between the authorities of the Sūtra and the commentary; names of sāmans (*parka*) and their 'seers' have been included; *sodaśi-kabrāhmaṇam* is not "*tāṇḍye*" (see the reference given!), etc.

etc. (which undoubtedly mostly refer to the Kauthumas), occurring on almost every page [N.B. + = identified already by Shastri]:

JUB 1,20–24 (p. 41 *pūrvasyāḥ gāyatrapiṣadāḥ ṣaṣṭhasaptamayor anuvākayoh*); 1,22,3 (p. 40 *asmacchrutau*); 1,24,4 (p. 341 *śrūyate*); 3,16,1–2 + (p. 84 *asmadupaniṣadgranthah*); 4,25,3 + (p. 341 *śrūyamāna-*); *upaniṣadrahasi* p. 214;

JĀrsB: *ārṣeya* p. 219; 234; 242 bis; 341 sqq.

*śātyāyanakalpe<sup>28</sup> śrūyate* p. 144; *śātyāyanināḥ* p. 345,4 sq. (Jayanta);

*tāṇḍināṁ pāṭhaḥ* p. 42;

*kauthumānām uha, kauthumoha* p. 201 (see above, p. 188);

PB 2,7 (p. 335 *tāṇḍināḥ*); 6,4,1 (p. 36 *anyārtham darśanam*); 7,7,19 (p. 67 *paravacanam*); 9,8,1.13 + (p. 7 *vihita*; JB 1,345. 347 differ slightly); 22,18 (p. 189 *paraśākhāvihita*); 22,18,7 (p. 134 *parabrahmaṇa*; read *kṣemadhr̄tvā*); *tāṇḍibrāhmaṇe* p. 339;

ChU 1,1,1 (p. 201 *śrūyate*);

DŚS 1,1,1 (p. 3 *dṛṣyate ca śāstrādau pratijñā*; read *vidhyavya<sup>o</sup>*; N.B. not LSS [*atha vi<sup>o</sup>*]); 2,1,1 (p. 36 *uktam ca tāṇḍināṁ sūtre*; N.B. *parigāṇāni* with JSS for *parisāmāni*); 2,2,4 (p. 24 *tathā ca tāṇḍināṇ nīdhānopāyavidhāv evam*); 4,2,2 (p. 45 *uktam tāṇḍisūtre*); 6,1,19 (*asmīn arthe vacanam eva tāṇḍisūtre vidyate*; read *sato*); *drāhyāyaṇe 'pi śrūyate* p. 141;

*adhvaryubahvraḥ* p. 193; 283; 285;

KB 6,11 + (p. 84 *bahvṛcaśrūtāu*); 8,3 (p. 8 *bahvṛcānāṁ pravargyādhikāre vacanam*); 17,7 (p. 41 *bahvṛcabrahmaṇe śrūyate*); *asti ca bahvṛcabrahmaṇe* p. 136;

ŚSS<sup>29</sup> 1,1,1 (p. 3 *dṛṣyate ca śāstrādau pratijñā*); 1,1,8,9 (p. 23 *tad uktam kauṣitakinā*); 1,2,24 (p. 27 *avadac ca kauṣitakiḥ*); 1,2,26 (p. 12 *tathā coktaṁ kauṣitakinā*); 5,12,3–4 (p. 24 *bahvṛcānāṁ ca ... evaṁ hi kauṣitakināpy uktam*); 6,13,6 (p. 75 *avadat kauṣitakiḥ*; v.l.); 7,4,14 (p. 49 *pāṭhanti ca bahvṛcāḥ*); 13,17,3 (p. 135 *śrūyate ca bahvṛcasūtre*); 13,27,5 (p. 136 *asti ca bahvṛcasūtre* [read so] 14,22,4 (p. 168 ditto); 16,3,7 (p. 322 *evaṁ hi bahvṛcānāṁ aśvamedhaḥ śrūyate*); 16,15,6–7 (p. 125 *kauṣitakināṁ sarvamedho nāma daśarātra, tatra śrūyate*); *bahvṛcasūtre* p. 122; *bahvṛcapratyayāt* p. 194;

ĀsvSS<sup>29</sup> 2,4,3 (p. 2 *athavāgnihotrasyārtvijyam adhikṛtya “...” iti śaunakoktatrāvāt*); 6,12,3 (p. 77 *eṣāṁ api mantrāṇāṁ svāhākārāntānām eva śaunakāmnānatrāvāt*); *avadac ca śaunakāḥ* p. 57;

*āśvalāyanāḥ saḍbhīḥ paṭalaiḥ samastaṁ yajñatantram avocat.<sup>30</sup>*

<sup>28</sup> Cf. Renou, *Les écoles*, §§ 95, 172.

<sup>29</sup> I cannot find any other instance where the Śrautasūtras are attributed to Kauṣitaki and Śaunaka; according to the tradition the latter was Āśvalāyana's teacher and destroyed his own work for his pupils good, and he is cited in the ĀsvSS; a ŚaunakaGS is known from several quotations. Perhaps Hemādri's expression *śaunakāśvalāyanau* is to be understood as denoting the ĀsvSS & ĀsvGS; thus apparently Bhavatrāta. Cf. Hillebrandt, *Rit.*, p. 25 sq.; Renou, *Les écoles*, p. 43.

<sup>30</sup> The division of the ĀsvGS known to us is into four adhyāyas with 24, 10, 12, 8 kaṇḍikās respectively; would a paṭala contain 9 chapters?

*tad eva caturviṁśatīśāmbavyah* [ed. °*bayyah*]<sup>31</sup> p. 249.  
*adhvaryubahvycāḥ* see above;  
*yajurveda* p. 194;  
*tatra svaśākhāyām evādhvaryor upagānam pratiṣidhyate* p. 40: cf. TS 6,3,1,  
5 etc.;

SB 11,5,8,7 + (p. 2; note the *v.l.*, Kāṇva?); ditto (p. 82 *śrūyate*);  
*śrūyate ca kāṭhake* p. 202;  
*iha taittirīyāḥ* p. 96; *taittirīyānukalpe* p. 195;  
*vādhūlakāḥ* p. 88;

BaudhŚS 2,19: 66,6 (p. 85 *uktam ca baudhāyanenāsyaiva puroḍāśasyādhi-kāre*); 25 (Karmāntasūtra), 13: 242,7 sqq. (p. 28 *ity avadād bodhāyanāḥ pitā-putriyām adhikṛtya*); 25,19: 250,11–14 (p. 51 *evam hi baudhāyanenoktam ... punaś coktam; v.l.*); 25,21: 252,13 sq. (p. 32 *uktam hi bodhāyanena vasatīvari-graham adhikṛtya; v.l.!*); *bodhāyanasya vacanam* p. 48; *bodhāyanavacanam* p. 43; *baudhāyanoktam* p. 309; *girā baudhāyanī yathā* p. 194; extensively on the relation of Baudhāyana and Jaimini p. 52;

*śrūyate ca parakṣudre ... parakṣudreṣu ca dṛṣyate* p. 85;<sup>32</sup>

Piṅgala 2,1 [correct so +] (p. 249 *ity anenoktam makāramānaṁ samjñām akarot piṅgalah*);

Pāṇini 1,1,1 (p. 3 *ity evamādi śāstrāni*); ditto + (p. 249 *pāṇinis tu ... mahatīm samjñām akarot*); 1,1,42 + (ditto); 1,2,37–38 & Kāty. (p. 30 *vyā-karaṇatas, °noktam*); 1,2,58 (p. 259,18 sq.); 1,2,69 + (p. 160); 2,2,28 + (p. 119); 2,2,34 + (p. 342); 3,3,16 + (p. 209); 3,4,40 + (p. 210); 5,3,14 + (p. 207); 6,3,137 + (p. 344); 7,1,39 + (p. 266); 7,4,42 + (p. 82); 8,4,3 + (p. 294);

MimS 1,1,1 (p. 3 *dṛṣyate ca śāstrādau pratijñā*); 3,5,24–26 + (p. 52 *mīmāṁsāyām ... etāni cātra sūtrāni*); 3,5,31 + (p. 49 *uktam mīmāṁsāyām*); 3,5,40,43 + (p. 51 *uktam ca mīmāṁsāyām “...” ity adhikṛtya “...”*); *mīmāṁsāyām ucyate* p. 242; *mīmāṁsā-* ter p. 196;

Bhavadāsa, Śabaravasvāmin p. 52 (cf. above p. 186);

*mīmāṁsakāḥ* p. 304; 67; 86; *nyāyavidaḥ* p. 64; a quotation from some mīm.-text p. 74,5 sq.; (cf. also *śrutiś ca prakaraṇād baliyasi* p. 37; *liṅgam hi kramād balavat* p. 57; etc.);

Bhagavadgītā 2,47; 6,1 + (p. 92 *bhāśu śrūyate*); 18,61 + (p. 36 *bhāśu ca dṛṣyate*; the other stanza not in BhG);

Yājñavalkyaśikṣā according to Shastri p. 209;

Manu according to Shastri, p. 68; 89;

*smṛteḥ* p. 72; *smṛtikāraḥ* p. 9.

The fact that I noticed altogether 63 instances of the conditional which is considered so rare (cf. Whitney, *Sanskrit Grammar*, § 941; Renou, *Grammaire sanscrite*, § 340d) deserves special mention. Unless

<sup>31</sup> On the ŚāmbavyaGS, a recension of the ŚāṅkhGS, see Hillebrandt, *Rit.*, p. 25 and Renou, *Les écoles*, p. 43 where further references are found. The ŚāṅkhGS comprises six adhyāyas, 96 khanḍas in all.

<sup>32</sup> The text quoted is TB 1,1,6,11.

otherwise indicated, the following forms are all unknown to Whitney's *Roots*:<sup>33</sup>

*i-* 'go' *abhipraisyat* (p. 248,15 sq.), *abhipraisyata* (29,23); *is-* 'desire' *aiśiṣyat* (275,15 sq.), <sup>o</sup>*ta* (12,29 sq. [Ms. *aivīṣyate*]; 85,1 sq.; 94,24); *kr-* *akariṣyat* (25,14; 275,15 sq.; 340,20 sq.), <sup>o</sup>*ta* (33,1; 94,14 sqq.), W(hitney) "(*akariṣyat* etc. B +)"; *klp-* *akalpajīṣyata* (154,12 sq.; 22), <sup>o</sup>*yanta* (154,22); *gam-* *agamīṣyat* (68,23), W "(*agamīṣyat* U.)"; *tam-* 'faint' *atamīṣyat* (220,31 [ed. *atā*]); 221,2 sq.); *dhā-* 'put' *ādhāṣyata* (221,2 sq.), *vyādhāṣyata* (*ib.*), W "(*adhāṣyat* C)"; *pad-* <sup>o</sup>*āpatsyat* (127,9 [ed. <sup>o</sup>*āvatsyat*, but cf. *pa ~ va* in *grantha*, and n. 7]), *āpatsyata* (127,11 sq.); *bhū-* *abhavisyat* (25,14; 33,1; 35,3 bis; 68,23; 120,19; 127,9; 127,11 sq.; 136,10 sqq.; 154,12 sq.; 161,28 bis; 165,12 sq.; 187, last line *bis*; 204,23; 209,21 sq.; 213,12 sqq. *bis*; 220,22 bis; 220,27; 265,29 bis; 301,15 sq.), *anvabhavisyat* (220,31), *abhavisyatām* du. (183,9 sqq.), *abhavisyan* (222,16), W "(*abhavisyat* etc. U. +)"; *vac-* *avakṣyat* ([209,17 uncertain emendation] 213,12 sqq.; 248,15 sq.), <sup>o</sup>*ta* (12,29 sq.; 29,23; 84,21; 94,24), W "(*avakṣyat* etc. B. U.)"; *vad-* *avadiṣyat* (85,1 sq.); *vṛt-* *prāvartīṣyata* (84,22), W "(*avartsyat* B.)"; *vṛdh-* *avardhayīṣyata* (136,10 sqq.); *śri-* <sup>o</sup>*āśrayīṣyata* (209, 21 sq.); *śru-* *asrōṣyata* (204,23); *sah-* *prāsaksyat* (340,20 sq.); *stu-* 'praise' *astosyān* (165,12 sq.), W "(*astosyat* etc. B. U.)"; *sthā-* *upasthāṣyata* (301, 15 sq.).

### § 3. Amendments to the agnistoma Portion of the JSS

Bhavatrāṭa usually (but not always) cites the sūtras upon which he is going to comment in an abbreviated form. The text of the agniṣṭoma portion has been taken over by Shastri from Gaastra's edition (this has not been clearly expressed by him);<sup>34</sup> but though it has been considerably altered, only four critical remarks are to be found, all giving the reading of the *mudritapustaka* or printed edition.<sup>35</sup> Since Shastri's edition without doubt will, at least for some time, serve as the standard text and because Gaastra's is no longer up to date, I have concerned myself with the matter in detail.

Shastri has been able to make a number of corrections to G(aastra)'s text on the basis of Bh(avatrāṭa). For one thing, as regards the division into chapters, the additional *khaṇḍa* (5) of the Ms. B<sup>2</sup> is definitely proved

<sup>33</sup> W. D. Whitney, *The roots, verb-forms and primary derivatives of the Sanskrit language*. Leipzig 1885, repr. New Haven 1945 (American Oriental Ser., 30).

<sup>34</sup> *jaiminīyaśrautasya mūlam kevalam agniṣṭomaprakaraṇāntam śrikhāṣṭrā dvārā mudritam upalabhyate* (p. x) can be understood as a general establishment only.

<sup>35</sup> P. 62 n. 1; p. 71 nn. 1–3; actually also p. 21 n. 1 the index number of which has by an oversight been put into the commentary text.

to be spurious.<sup>36</sup> The last sūtra of chapter 13 (=p. 46 line 20) was included in the next chapter in G.'s MSS., but Bh.'s division is the only natural one (G. had to use a colon at the end of ch. 13 in her transl.). G.'s ch. 14 is divided into two, 14 and 15, by Bh.; I would not call this an improvement. But the uniting of G.'s chapters 24 and 25 into one (25) certainly is an improvement; the sequel attaches itself very closely to *gāyet* p. 91,7, cf. Bh.; and this division is actually found also in B<sup>2</sup> (cf. G., p. xi).

In the division into sūtras G. wisely did not follow her MSS., but gave a continuous text, putting tentative strokes above the line (cf. G., p. xii sq.). Bh. proves that she was largely right; Shastri, who has dissolved the sandhi,<sup>37</sup> has in places put his dandas otherwise than G., with Bh. Without intervening in the inconsistencies to be found especially at the mantras (Sh. has usually followed G., but cf. e.g. p. 73,2 sqq.), I make here only the essential corrections:

*Insert a danda p. 11,1 b(before) tasmin* (see the comm.); 26,5 b. *athai*<sup>o</sup>; 31,2 *in fine*; 31,5 b. *sa*; 39,8 a(fter) *āha*; 46,2 between *iti* and *ādityam*; 46,3 b. *samrād*; 49,6 b. *udgātairva*; 53,9 b. *sam*; remove the danda 11,10 b. *subra*<sup>o</sup>; 31,8 b. *tṛṇap*; 39,8 b. *prastotā*; 46,2 a. *astu*; 56,1 *in fine*; 56,9 b. *mānasasya*; 65,2; 73,9 a. *sādayati*.

A numbering of the sūtras, as divided by Bh., would have greatly facilitated the reference; but it cannot be done many times, and so it is much better to have no numbering at all than one done carelessly (I am afraid that in this very part of the edition Sh. has exercised insufficient care).

In many places Shastri has changed Gaastra's text to accord with Bh.'s comm.;

thus undoubtedly correctly in p. 3,17.20.21 *anūddeśya* = B<sup>1</sup> B<sup>2</sup> (thus also BaudhŚS 24,13:197,6) ~ *anudeśya* G. with most other texts (cf. n. 3, transl. p. 1); thus also *anūyāja* (also in the ĀpŚS) p. 76,1 = G. ~ generally *anu*<sup>o</sup>: cf. G. herself p. xxx and M. Bloomfield & F. Edgerton, *Vedic Variants II*,

<sup>36</sup> This was suspected already by Gaastra who had it printed separately (pp. 34 sq.); on this khāṇḍa cf. Gaastra, p. x sq. and p. 52 sq. Note further that the last words of JŚS I,4 (*atra sānto 'gnir bhavat, atrodgātre varam dadāti*) are quoted here: p. 35,4 sq. *atra sānto 'gnir bhavatī varam codgātre deyam upadiṣanti*; cf. also JŚS I,4 *puṣkaraparṇa* but p. 34,2 *puṣkarapalāśa*, etc. Cf. below, p. 211.

<sup>37</sup> There are inconsistencies, e.g. p. 3,21 *kuryād* / for <sup>o</sup>*t* / etc. The same applies to Shastri's endeavour to dissolve the sandhi before *iti*.

Philadelphia 1932, § 550; 3,22 *te* (cf. Bh., p. 8,3) = B<sup>2</sup> ~ B<sup>1</sup> G *om.*; 3,22 *nyasyāt* (8,3) = B<sup>1</sup> B<sup>2</sup> ~ *nyasyet* G; 3,27 *yad dakṣinā iti* (9,4 sqq.) = B<sup>2</sup> ~ °*neti* B<sup>1</sup> ~ *yaddakṣiṇa iti* G; 3,27 *sa* before *yady a°* (9,22; also in the quotation 4,8) ~ B<sup>1</sup> B<sup>2</sup> G *om.*; 11,7 *iti* after *rūpam* (13,4) ~ B<sup>1</sup> B<sup>2</sup> G *om.*; 15,4 *āvarte* (17,12 sqq.) cf. *āvartte* B<sup>1</sup> *āvarter* B<sup>2</sup> ~ *āvṛtte* G; 15,7 *anoyuktam* (18,6 sq.) ~ *ano yu°* G; 21,5 *hrdayena* (22,6 sq.; also *alibi*: 219,20) = B<sup>2</sup> ~ *gūrdena* B<sup>1</sup> G (cf. her n. 16, transl. p. 7); 23,6 *yuñjanti* (24,20) ~ °*ati* B<sup>1</sup> B<sup>2</sup> G; 34,20 *pavyanti* (= B<sup>2</sup>) and *grhṇyanti adhvaryavāḥ* (35,25,30) ~ sg. G with B<sup>1</sup> and in part B<sup>2</sup>; 56,14 *vā* (60,21 sq.) = B<sup>2</sup> ~ B<sup>1</sup> G *om.*; 62,1 and 71,7 *sanprasarpya* (63,12 sqq!) ~ B<sup>1</sup> °*sarpa* ~ B<sup>2</sup> G °*sṛpya* (but e.g. 78,7 *upāvasṛpya* also acc. to Bh.); 73,10 *tena* (74,12) = B<sup>2</sup> ~ *a* B<sup>1</sup> *sa* G; 76,3 *sākalair* (21 sqq!) = B<sup>2</sup> ~ *sālākair* B<sup>1</sup> G; 76,9 *paryāvartate* (77,6) ~ *paryāvṛtya* B<sup>2</sup> G (*yaryāpatya* B<sup>1</sup>); 78,2 (c) *āsandīm ca* (16 sqq.) cf. B<sup>2</sup> *rājāsandīm* ~ B<sup>1</sup> G *om.* 80,7 *ādhite* (82,14 sqq!) cf. *ādhite* B<sup>2</sup> ~ *āhite* B<sup>1</sup> G; 80,10 *tīṣṭhan / na stotra°* (83,14,17) ~ *nīśtiṣṭhan* B<sup>1</sup> B<sup>2</sup> (*sa°* B<sup>2</sup> sec.m.) *astotra°* B<sup>1</sup> (ā° B<sup>2</sup>), thus wrongly divided by G.; 80,11 (*bis*) *gau°* (84,26 sqq.) ~ *go°* G (B<sup>2</sup> once *gau°*); 80,11 *geye* (84,26) ~ *gayet* (*sic*) G; 80,13 *saṭ* (85,10; also in the quotation 275,18) = B<sup>2</sup> ~ B<sup>1</sup> G *om.*; 87,1 *vedy°* ~ *vady°* G (misprint); 91,4 *sado* (93,23) = B<sup>1</sup> B<sup>2</sup> ~ *sadasī* G; 91,9 *gāyet* ~ *ga°* G (misprint). 76,4 Shastri has left out the mantra *manuṣyakṛtya-syainaso'vajajanam asi* which G (with B<sup>1</sup>) has in the text before (but in B<sup>2</sup> it follows!) the mantra *parakṛtasayai°*; I am sure he is right: the latter, not recorded in M. Bloomfield's *Vedic Concordance*, is the Jaim. variant of *manuṣya°* in the parallels (see *Vedic Conc.*). On the basis of *asagāsāṁśasāś ca vā* in M<sup>3</sup>, Shastri emends 80,13 and 85,12 *aśvaś ca vānadvāṁś ca vā* which seems to me better than *aśvaś cānaḍvānoś ca* B<sup>2</sup> or *aśvā anaḍvān vā* B<sup>1</sup> G.

Less certain corrections, though based on Bh., are 21,1 *svarṇajyotiḥ* (9 sq.; v.l. *suvarṇa°*) for *svarṇyotiḥ* B<sup>1</sup> B<sup>2</sup> G: the Gāna text was known to G. (cf. her n. 3, transl. p. 7); 98,6 *anubrāhmaṇino* (100,3 f.b., sqq.) ~ °*brāhmaṇino* B<sup>1</sup> G (°*nīno* B<sup>2</sup>). 3,20 Shastri is certainly not right in reading *na hi so'ho°* for *na hy aho°* B<sup>1</sup> B<sup>2</sup> G: *so* belongs only to the commentary (where Shastri however has changed this Ms. reading into *na hy aho°!*). 73,11 *avekṣate* cf. 74,2 is most probably only Bh.'s gloss for *saṁikṣate* B<sup>1</sup> B<sup>2</sup> G which is corroborated also by 73,12 *pratisamikṣate*. Here I should like to call attention to Bh.'s confirmation (19,21 sqq.) of 15,18 *upavasathe* B<sup>2</sup> G ~ *aupa°* B<sup>1</sup> and Dhanvin on DSS 1,3,5; likewise (100,4 sq.) of 98,3 *pradāna°* = B<sup>1</sup> B<sup>2</sup> ~ *pradhāna°* Dhanvin on DSS 2,2,21 and Vainateyakārikā (cf. below, p. 211) 39.64 etc.

In some cases both G.'s and Sh.'s text needs rectification.

11,12 *upāñjanti* Sh. with Bh. (13,27 sq.), but such a present of *aj-* (cf. Bh. *saṁipam nayanti*) does not exist: we have to read, as G. proposed but did not adopt in the text against both B<sup>1</sup> and B<sup>2</sup> (*upājayanti*), *upājanti*; 31,2 *jyā* is a corruption of G.'s *'yā*: the correct reading is *dhā*, JB 1,84; likewise *ib. tad (varca°)* G. Sh. is to be read *tvad*, JB l.c. and B<sup>2</sup>; 31,3 for *adyasutym* G. Sh., read *adya sutyām*; 65,14 for *cāyāś* Sh. = B<sup>2</sup>, *cājaś* G., read with B<sup>1</sup> and JB 1,333 *cājā*; 71,4 *prapedyateyai* *vā°* (*sic*) Sh., read *prapadya taya* *vā°* = B<sup>1</sup>

for *prapadyaitayaivā*<sup>o</sup> B<sup>2</sup> G, cf. the next; 71,7 *tayaivā*<sup>o</sup> Sh. with Bh. (72,4), cf. *tayevā*<sup>o</sup> B<sup>1</sup> *tayarā* B<sup>2</sup>, for *etayaivā* G, but this is not enough: *kṛte* before this, found in both MSS. but omitted by both G. and Sh., is to be adopted in the text, cf. Bh. l.c.; 80,8 sq. *gānasamyoगād / vedādhikrtatvād / atha brahmaudane ca lingardarśanāt* Sh. after Bh. (82,23 sqq.), B<sup>1</sup> G. *om.*: B<sup>2</sup> has <sup>o</sup>*kṛtatvāc ca, brahmau*<sup>o</sup>, and this is the correct reading (cf. *atha* in Bh. 82,25); 91,1 *nādhvaryuḥ* and *yadādhvaryuḥ* G. and Sh.: Dhanvin on DŚS 2,1,1 quotes *na hy adhvaryuḥ* and *yady adhvaryuḥ*, Bh. reads *hi* in the text (cf. 1,20), and probably *yad adhvaryuḥ* (cf. 91,19).<sup>38</sup>

It remains to give a list of the mere blunders (correct in G.'s ed.);

I am not going to enumerate cases as 11,13 *sṛjet gaur*; 21,5 *puccham vā*; 26,3 sq. <sup>o</sup>*ti ud*<sup>o</sup>; 31,9 <sup>o</sup>*śya ā*; 31,14 <sup>o</sup>*eṇa cha*<sup>o</sup> (but 34,7 <sup>o</sup>*eṇa ccha*<sup>o</sup>); cf. also n. 37. 3,20 *tadānadhyaīyo bhavati* should be placed after the next sūtra (cf. also Bh., p. 7,22 sqq.); 3,21 Sh. has changed *nu* (B<sup>2</sup> G ~ B<sup>1</sup> *om.*) into *tu*, reading thus also in the comm. for *sa* in M<sup>3</sup> (p. 7 n. 4): note the difference between *t* and *n* in grantha and in *nāgarī*; 3,23 supply at the end of the line *anūcair eva saha yājayed* (Bh. 8,15); 3,25 after *pāpakarmabhiḥ* B<sup>1</sup> and B<sup>2</sup> have (<sup>o</sup>*r*) *ṛtvigbhiḥ*, and Bh. (8,18) gives no reason to omit the word; 3,28 supply after *pravācayeta*: *yadi dīkṣitam, abhidrutyābhivādayeta* (Bh. 10,1 sq.); 15,6 r(ead) *upaniṣherpya*; 15,7 r. (*bis*) *ātithiyayā* (cf. 18,9!); 15,16 r. *samudra stanaś*; 21,4 (also 22,5) *ṛtuṣṭhāya*<sup>o</sup>; 21,5 (and 22,4,6) r. *api pakṣam*; 23,2 after *sa* the rest of the sūtra has been left out: *hiṃkṛtya sāma trir gāyatry agniṇi hotāraṇi manye dāsvantam ity eṣām uttamam* (Bh. 23,22 sqq., cf. also 78,3); 23,3 r. (as 78,5) *agni ra*<sup>o</sup>; 26,2 r. *avataś chāyāyāṁ*; 26,5 r. <sup>o</sup>*ā mūlāt*; 28,1 r. <sup>o</sup>*labhante* (Bh. 28,9); 28,2 r. *kauśika brāhmaṇa kauśika bru*<sup>o</sup>, thus also in the sequel; 28,7 r. *svaḥsu*<sup>o</sup>; 28,8 *svaḥkar*<sup>o</sup>; 31,2 r. *udgeṣmeti* (31,22); 31,7 *daiḍhiṣāryodas*; 31,10 r. *sākamṇi*<sup>o</sup> and *yuñje*; 31,11 (and 33,24) r. *viśvā rū*<sup>o</sup>; 31,12 r. *adho’dhō’kṣam*, likewise 13 <sup>o</sup>*oparyuparyakṣam* (cf. Bh. 33,9 [corrected!]. 19 sqq., and 34,8!); 31,14 after *rāyaśpoṣanām* the two following formulas (cf. Bh. 33,22) have been left out: *rudrās tvā punantu traīṣubhena* etc. like the first, *ādityās ... jāgatena* etc.; 37,1 r. *adhvaryuḥ pra*<sup>o</sup>; *ib.* before *yajamāno* the words (<sup>o</sup>*ā*)*tha pratihartātha* (also in Bh.) have been left out; 39,5 after *prajānām* remove *mahyam* and after *prajānānāya* remove *prajānām bhāmne, prajānām puṣṭyai prajānānāya*; 39,7 r. *hiṃsiṣṭety*; 39,10 sq. and 12 sq. Sh. has repeated three errors of G. though these were corrected by her (p. 88): r. *tvārabhe, ṣchandā iti* (*bis*); 39,11 r. *gamyād*; 39,17 r. *māsmād*; 46,18 r. *kṛṇutāḥ*; 56,2 r. <sup>o</sup>*hūtasyopa*<sup>o</sup>; 56,7 r. *etam* (cf. JB 1,205); 56,11 r. *āharateti* (Bh. 59,8); 56,15 r. *prātahsa*<sup>o</sup>; 62,2 and 71,8 r. *hiṃku*<sup>o</sup> (cf. 78,3!); 65,5 r. *mā mā*; 65,9 r. <sup>o</sup>*ābhyaniti* (B<sup>1</sup> G and Bh. 67,2 sq.) for <sup>o</sup>*ābhyaniti* (thus also B<sup>2</sup>); 65,15 supply *stute* after <sup>o</sup>*deryena* (Bh. 69,8); 65,15 (and 69,8 resp. 9) r. <sup>o</sup>*ānejan* and *ā pra*<sup>o</sup>; 73,2 remove the first *yan me mano*; 73,5,7 r. (*a*)*kṣyor*; 76,8 r. *kāma kā*<sup>o</sup>; 9 r. (*bis*)

<sup>38</sup> Unfortunately I have not yet been able to check systematically whether more improvements of the text could be obtained from Bh.

*anu pary°*; 78,10 remove the other *tejo 'si*; 11 r. *payasvān* (°ām G); 80,2 r. *jātavedā*; 9 r. *lingasthāni* (Bh. 83,7, and 98,4); 87,4 (and 24 bis) r. *brahma ja°*; 91,4 r. °*tiṣheta*; 98,6 r. *'vacanāt*.

#### § 4. The Hitherto Unknown Part of the JŚ

Although Bhavatrāta does not usually give the sūtra text, we can determine the contents of the Sūtra from his commentary with fair precision. Shastri has supplied a table of contents, compiled, as far as I am able to see, from the colophons of the commentary at the end of the relevant section<sup>39</sup> or from the adhikāras of the Sūtra itself which in most cases are carefully explained by Bhavatrāta. But in many cases the headings fail to make clear the contents of the chapter in question. The general arrangement of the work is hard to make out from this table: the basic division of the text into three sections<sup>40</sup> has not been taken into account, neither has the division of the last section into twelve adhyāyas.<sup>41</sup> Here I try to improve upon these points, and at the same time give references to the chief related texts. I hope that this preliminary survey would have the effect of furthering the use of this important source even as it is now available.

I. SŪTRA<sup>42</sup>=the portion known before, treating mainly of the agniṣṭoma. I refer to the detailed table of contents (in Dutch) by Gaasterla:<sup>43</sup>

khaṇḍas 1–26 (cf. above, p. 192 sq.). Cf. LŚS I–II;<sup>44</sup> JB 1,66–364.

II. KALPA.<sup>45</sup> Corresponds, generally speaking, to the Maśakakalpa-

<sup>39</sup> If the Ms. really reads *viśvarūpāgāñanavidhiḥ* in the colophon of chapter I,9 and *bhakṣanāpyāyanavidhiḥ* in that of I,18, why has this not been corrected by substituting the words given in the table of contents?

<sup>40</sup> Cf. Bh., p. 117,5 *asya (khalu) yajñaśāstrasya trayo 'vayavāḥ: sūtram, kalpah, pariṣeṣa iti. tatra gate sūtre kalpe vayam pravṛttāḥ*.

<sup>41</sup> Cf. Bh., p. 193,5 *bhagavān ācāryo jaiminiḥ sūtram kalpam ca prāṇīya tadartha-sandehanirāśaya taduktārthavastuklptaye ca dvādaśādhyāyīm eṣām vyadhatta*. Cf. n. 55.

<sup>42</sup> *agniṣṭomasya jaiminisūtram* in the colophon of B<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>43</sup> G., p. xxx sqq. Correct that the solo sāmans are continued in XXV; cf. above, p. 193.

<sup>44</sup> I omit the references to the DŚS the text of which has been published only in part and rarely differs much from that of the LŚS.

<sup>45</sup> Cf. Bh., p. 117,6 sqq.; 141,5 sqq.; 149,12 sqq.; 313,2–5.

sūtra of the Kauthumas. From the *sāmakalpa*<sup>46</sup> proper Jaimini has separated a special:

1. *Stomakalpa*. The main object is to settle the stoma (i.e., the number of chant verses, stotriyas, required at the different stotras or 'lauds'), the samsthā (i.e., after which laud the 'end' should be: agniṣṭoma = sacrifice ending in the agniṣṭoma laud, etc.), and (in the case of an ahīna or a sattrā) the number and order of the days, of all the soma sacrifices recognized by the Jaiminīyas; besides other matters; the name is due to the prevalence of the prescriptions of the stoma.

First in:

khaṇḍa 1 the archetypes (jyotiṣṭoma p. 117, gavām ayana 119) are treated, then the various ectypes in the order in which they appear in the JB:

khaṇḍas 2–5 the ekāhas comprising only one day on which the soma is pressed

(*upaśada* p. 124 [JB 2,81], *śada* 125 [82], *kṣipra* 127 [*sadyaskṛi* 115], *ekatrika* 127 [125], *catuṣṭomo* 'gniṣṭut 127 [134], *trikadrukāḥ* 128 [166],<sup>47</sup> *gāyatra* 129 [171],<sup>47</sup> *viśvajit* 129 [180], *ṛtuṣṭomāḥ* 130 [211],<sup>47</sup> *vrātyastomāḥ* 131 [221]),

khaṇḍas 6–7 the ahīnas with two to twelve pressing days

(*dvirātrāḥ* 132 [235], *aśvamedha* 132 [266], *sarvātirātra* [*aśvamedha*] 133, *trikakup* 134 [325], *saptayajñakratu* 134 [326], *paundarīka* [PB 22,18])

khaṇḍa 8 the sattras with twelve and more pressing days (JB 2,334–370).

2. *Prakṛtikalpa* or *Prākṛta* settles the arrangement of the sāmans and the rcaḥ (on which the sāmans are to be sung) of the three archetypes (*prakṛti*), viz.

the jyotiṣṭoma, the model of the ekāhas, in its two variations, the rāthantara (p. 141) and the bṛhatpr̥ṣṭha (145), [cf. Bhavatrāta, p. 80 sq.; PB VI–VIII; Caland, Ārṣeyakalpa, p. 203 sq.],

the dvādaśāha, the model of the ahīnas<sup>48</sup> (146) [cf. PB XI–XV; Caland, ib., p. 205 sqq.], and

the gavām ayana, the model of the sattras of one year (147) [cf. Maś. I–II].

<sup>46</sup> Cf. Bh., p. 128,14; 129,18; 130,1; 131,3,14; 164,6,13 etc.

<sup>47</sup> Cf. § 5.

<sup>48</sup> Cf. Jayanta, p. 149,13.

3. *Samjñākalpa* or *Samjñā* defines technical terms (*samjñā*), e.g. *paryāsa* p. 153, and gives *paribhāṣāḥ* or clues to the condensed exposition of the *Vikṛtikalpa*; corresponds in general to LŚS VI,3–4 (method of quoting the *rcaḥ* p. 153, *sāmajāmi* 162 [cf. JB 1,299 sqq.; JŚS III,6,3; LŚS 6,9,6–9; below, p. 207], *rktantram* 165).
4. *Vikṛtikalpa* or *Vaikṛta*. In the introduction Bh. treats of the ten ‘connections’ (*anvaya*) of the verses and sāmans at the ectypes, which are then set forth in the same order as the stomas etc.:

The ekāhas (*upaśada* 173 [81], *catuṣṭomo* ‘*gniṣṭut*’ 174 [134], *gonāmāni* 175 [145], *vaiśvadeva* 176 [146], *trikadrukāḥ* 177 [166], *abhijit* & *viśvajit* 177 [178], *vyuṣṭi* 178 [205], 1. *vrātyastoma* 178 [221]).

The ahinas (*hāviṣmatīyo* *vyuṣṭidvirātrasya* 180 [cf. 235], *catūrātrāḥ* 184 [281], *pañcarātrāḥ* 185 [291], *trikakup* 188 [325], *pauṇḍarika* 189).

The sattras (*samsadām ayana*, 189).

III. PARYADHYĀYA or PARIŚEṢA.<sup>49</sup> The first name is that given by Jaimini (cf. above, p. 184: p. 193,5), according to the other explanation of Bh. meaning “the group of adhyāyas for the sake of [laying down] the remainder or supplement (*pariśeṣa*)”. The author’s intention is to “remove doubts about the meaning of the Śūtra and the Kalpa, and to settle what has not been told there”.

#### 1. *adhyāya*

khaṇḍa 1: *aharjñātram* or the standards (*tantra*) of the sacrificial days; corresponds to LŚS VI,9,10–18.

[2. *adhyāya*] Different rules for chanting:

khaṇḍa 1 (2): The three modes of chanting the laud (*āvṛgāna*, *leśagāna*, *channagāna*).

khaṇḍa 2 (3): *hrasva* and *dirgha*, *parokṣa* and *pratyakṣa*; cf. LŚS 6,10, 19?

khaṇḍa 3 (4): *antahślesāṇa* ‘internal fastening’: the continuity of chanting.

khaṇḍa 4 (5): *āgāḥ* (cf. JUB 1,37 and LŚS II,2,6–7), the mode of sitting during the lauds (cf. JB 1,72; LŚS 1,11,18–23); prohibitions against spitting etc. (cf. LŚS VI,10,18).

[3. *adhyāya*] This and the following two adhyāyas concern the parts of the sāman sung by different chanters.

<sup>49</sup> Cf. Bh., p. 193,5 sqq.; 197,28 sqq.; 313,6 sqq.; Dhanyin quoted above, p. 182. For the title, cf. Bhāradvājapariśeṣasūtra.

khaṇḍa 1 (6): *prastāva*; cf. LŚS VI,10,1–12.

khaṇḍa 2 (7): *ādi*; cf. LŚS VI,10,13–17.

khaṇḍa 3 (8): *gīti* (cf. LŚS VI,10,18–21), *upagraha* [= *upāya*] (cf. LŚS VII,7,34–8,4).

khaṇḍa 4 (9): *antarnidhana*; cf. LŚS VII,8,5–15.

khaṇḍa 5 (10): *īlā* (Shastri reads throughout erroneously *iṣṭā*) cf. LŚS VII,8, 16–19.

4. *adhyāya pratihāra*. Only the general or theoretical part =

khaṇḍas 1–4 (11–14) (cf. LŚS VI,10,22–VII,7,33), is by Jaimini:

khaṇḍas 5–8 (15–18) which individually treat only the *pratihāras* of those sāmans that are used at the lauds (*pragītāni*), are by Ābhīśrenya;<sup>50</sup> so we have here the Jaiminīya counterpart of Kātyāyana's *Pratihārasūtra*. Cf. p. 206.

5. *adhyāya*

khaṇḍa 1 (19): The vibhāgya sāmans; cf. LŚS VII,5,22–7,30.

khaṇḍas 2–5 (20–23): *ūha*: the adaptation of sāmans to verses other than on which they have been composed.

6. *adhyāya* or *Kalpasamaya*. In explanation of the fact that this *adhyāya* has a name but the others do not, Bh. (p. 269,5 sqq.) presumes that the author has wished to express that he has not composed it himself but taken it "from the great work by an earlier

<sup>50</sup> Cf. Bh., p. 243,19 sqq. (corrected): *athātaḥ pratihārāṇām* (JŚS III,4,1,1) *ity adhikṛtya bhagavatācāryena jaiminīnā pratipratihāralakṣaṇāṇām sāmānyarūpeṇa pratipāditam, na vyaktatarām pratisāmyoktam* (thus ed.). *idānīm punas tāvatā granthenādhuṇātānāṇām narāṇām alpamedhasāṇām sarvasāmapratihārāvagatir aśakyeti matvā bhagavān ābhīśrenyanāmācāryyah prayojanamātrānujighṛkṣayā stotrārthānām eva sāmānām vyaktatarām pratihārān ācikhyāsur evam ārabdhavān, tatraktam cākhilam pratihāralakṣaṇam atrocye. tasmād ācāryabhedāt punaruktadoṣo na bhavati.* P. 257,19 sq. (at the end of III,4,8) *ity ābhīśrenyapratipāditapratihārapaṭalacatuṣṭaya* [N.B. not *hārādhya*] *vyākhyānaṇām paryarasitam*. Ābhīśrenya or *ābhīśrenyavacana* (Sh. has in places divided wrongly *abhī*) has been referred to as an authority, generally side by side with the *ūhāmnāya*, by Bh. in his comm. on Jaimini's *Pratihārasūtra*: p. 231,20. 30; 232,9; 234,7; 238,16 sq. 24. The differing opinions of Ābhīśrenya and Śāṇḍilya (cf. n. 53) are quoted thrice in the Sūtra ascribed to the former, like Baudhāyana and Śālikī in the BaudhŚS, etc.: p. 246,24 sqq.; 248,25 sqq. (the sūtras have been quoted by Bh. 243,11 sq.; correct hereafter *padeṇa* for *sarvena*); 250,12 sq. Bh. remarks p. 248: *talavakāraśākhādhya*yibhir ābhīśrenya evāśrayaṇīyah. I have found this teacher mentioned elsewhere (including other texts) only p. 259,15.29 sq., but here it is difficult to say whether he is quoted by Bh. only or also in the sūtra text (*tathāivāha sma* in the first case makes the latter alternative very probable). — Note that Bh.'s comm. on Ābhīśrenya's *PratihāraS* has also been handed down separately (see n. 9).

teacher who has endeavoured to set forth the object of another school"; but he comes to the conclusion (p. 272,31 sqq.) that it is all Jaimini's work. The subject matter is the rules underlying the arrangement of the Kalpa. Cf., for the first three khaṇḍas, LŚS VI,9,1–9 and Agnisvāmin *a.l.*

khaṇḍa 1 (24): The deities of the lauds.

khaṇḍa 2 (25) [begins p. 271,27]: The metres of the lauds.

khaṇḍa 3 (26): The ends of the sāmans (cf. JSS II,3 p. 162 sq.) of the lauds.

khaṇḍa 4 (27) [begins p. 275,7]: The ṛṣis of the nidhanas.

khaṇḍa 5 (28): *rathantarajāmi*.

7. *adhyāya*. This and the following adhy. contain an exposition of the gavām ayana (JB 2,1–80; 371–442), corresponding to LŚS III,3,5–IV,4.

khaṇḍa 1 (29): The performers should live a year together.

khaṇḍa 2 (30): The over-night-rite (*sodaśika* or *aśodaśika*?).

khaṇḍa 3 (31): The day of beginning, *ārambhanīyam ahaḥ* (agniṣṭoma).

khaṇḍa 4 (32): The variations of the abhiplava six-day-periods.

khaṇḍa 5 (33): The variations of the prṛṣṭhya six-day-periods (cf. KṣudraS II,10–14).

khaṇḍa 6 (34): *abhijit, svarasāmānah*.

khaṇḍa 7 (35): The viṣvant day.

khaṇḍa 8 (36): *viśvajit, goāyuṣi*.

8. *adhyāya*. The mahāvrata day at the end of the gavām ayana; cf. JB 2,44–48.398–418; LŚS 3,9,1–4,4,9.

khaṇḍa 1 (37): The seat of udumbara wood, the grass bundles.

khaṇḍa 2 (38): The prṛṣṭha libations, the worshipping of the fire altar (*agni*).

khaṇḍa 3 (39): The king on the chariot, the earthdrum, *ārya* & *raudra* (JB 2,405 śaudra), the women with the water, p. 291 *māgadha* & *pūṇḍraka* (l.c. °*calū*), the thirteen *parimādah*.

khaṇḍa 4 (40): The mounting and descending the udumbara seat.

khaṇḍa 5 (41): The worshipping of the quarters, the lute with a hundred strings.

khaṇḍa 6 (42): The other parimāds, the worshipping of the sun.

khaṇḍa 7 (43): The chanting of the mahāvrata laud, the partaking of the soma.

9. *adhyāya* or *Pariṣeṣa* 'supplement' (cf. Bh., p. 302,25; 313,16).

khaṇḍa 1 (44): The *himkāra* in the lauds elsewhere than at the one-

day-rites, the gaurīvita sāman (cf. JB 2,424), *svaḥsutyāpravacanī subrahmaṇyā* (cf. LŚS 1,4,8–27).

khaṇḍa 2 (45): The putting of fuel into fire, the sujñāna sāman (JB 2,426), the ṣoḍaśin laud (cf. JB 1,192–205; LŚS III,1).

khaṇḍa 3–4 (46–47): The seven forms of the jyotiṣṭoma (cf. LŚS 5,4,22–24); p. 303 *prṣṭhya ṣadaha*: the prṣṭha lauds and the making of noises (cf. JB 1,143; 3,145–146; LŚS 3,5,1–3,6,15). The last three adhyāyas lay down how the different stomas are effected: in the 10. & 11. *adhyāya* which correspond to LŚS VI,2. 5–8, are given the rules of applying the viṣṭutis (various modes of repeating the three basic verses);

khaṇḍas 1–4 (48–51)

khaṇḍas 1–3 (52–54)

the viṣṭutis are recorded in the:

12. *adhyāya* – the Jaiminiya counterpart of the second and third book of the Pañcavimśabṛahmaṇa. It is noteworthy that in

khaṇḍa 1 (55) is recorded first (the place of the normal viṣṭuti [*pathyā*], cf. LŚS 6,2,1–2) the ślakṣṇā, and only thereafter in

khaṇḍa 2 (56) the udyantī, of the nine-versed stoma. In PB II,1–2 the order is reversed: it is here expressly said that the ślakṣṇā is used by the Bhāllavins. Cf. Bhavaratrātā p. 268,5 *bhāllavino vayam!*

khaṇḍa 15 (69) ends the JŚS. As an appendix comes *The JĀrṣB.*

Of the subjects treated in the LŚS we miss the brahmatva (LŚS IV,9–V,12): in the JŚS (I,23) only the solo sāmans to be sung at the establishment of the sacred fires and at the agnihotra have been settled. The last part of the LŚS (VIII–X) can here be discarded, for it is merely a kind of recapitulation of and commentary on PB XVI–XXV (cf. in this connection Bh., p. 5,17 sq. *tasmāt sādhūktam: śrutivihitānām sūtre-nānukramaṇam iti*).

But the JŚS as we have it now is more than a Śrautasūtra: it is a complete *corpus rituale* comparable to that of Baudhāyana or Āpastamba etc. Unlike those of the Kauthumas and the Rāṇāyanīyas, the Kalpa-, Śrauta-, and Grhyasūtra (this is missing in the present edition, but belongs to the corpus, cf. Jayanta below, p. 205) are all ascribed to the same author, Jaimini. But as the incorporation of Ābhīśrenya's Prati-hārasūtra and the Ārṣeyabṛahmaṇa (not only in the commentated version, cf. below, p. 210) shows, the redaction cannot be very ancient.

The Sūtra portion must be very old, certainly older than the LŚS (and

the DŚŚ which is, I believe, only a later redaction of the LŚŚ). To the arguments expounded by Gaastra (p. xiii sq.) I should like to add the recurrence of certain stereotyped phrases like, e.g., *yajñopavītam kṛtvāpa ācāmya* at the beginning of chapters 3, 5, 8, 23, 24, which have been replaced in the LŚŚ by a general rule to be supplied everywhere, so in our example LŚŚ 1,2,14.

Because so little is yet known of the text of the other parts of the JŚŚ, it is difficult to determine their relation to the Sūtra, each other, and the corresponding Kauthuma texts. But we have some kind of starting point in the teacher quotations.

The only individual teachers met with in the Sūtra are Śātyāyani (I,1) and Tāṇḍya (I,1) who have both been quoted already in the JB.<sup>51</sup> Of these two teachers, unknown to the LŚŚ, I have found only Tāṇḍya, quoted once in the part which has now become known (III,6,1: p. 270, 19 sqq.).<sup>52</sup>

But instead there are now school names:

*śātyāyaninah* (III,6,1: 269,13.16; 7,2: 279,4; 9,1: 298,4 [quot.]; 12,4: 332,7), *tāṇḍinah* (III,2,1: 204,6; 5,4: 267,9; 12,1: 329,18 etc.), *bhāllavinah* (in the quotation p. 42,6; III,5,4 [Bh.: *bhāllavina iti kṛtvā vayam vyūhapakṣam* āśritāḥ; cf. above on III,12,1]; III,5,5: 268,5 [cf. ibid.]: 12,1: 329,19 etc.), *vedabṛhtīyāḥ* (III,2,1: 204,6 sq. [Bh. *v° nāma chandogāḥ*]), and at the viṣṭutis *kāruḍviṣayāḥ* (= *karadviṣayāḥ* PB 2,15,4; 3,6,4; *kāruḍveśinah* KS 23,2; cf. Renou, *Les écoles véd.*, p. 91, n. 1) and *ācāryavacasah* (III,12,6: 333,6 sqq.; both are identified by Bh., as an alternative, with the Bhāllavins).

More important, however, is the frequent mention here of authorities who definitely seem to be exegetes of the PB-ŚB and quoted as such in the LŚŚ (and elsewhere by the Kauthumas):<sup>53</sup>

<sup>51</sup> §. *passim*, T. in 2,112 on which cf. Caland, “Over en uit het JB”, *Versl. en Meded. Akad. Wetensch.*, Letterk., Vijfde reeks I, Amsterdam 1915, p. 26 sq. These two names are connected with the two Brāhmaṇas par excellence of the SV (at least of those preserved), viz. the Śātyāyanaka, known to us from a great number of quotations (collected by B. K. Ghosh, *Collection of the fragments of lost Brāhmaṇas*, Calcutta 1935, pp. 1–102) and of its close version (cf. Renou, *Les écoles*, § 95) JB, and the Tāṇḍaka, i.e., the PB. Śaṭi (read thus) and Tāṇḍya are found in the list of the ten *pravacanakartārah*, cf. Caland, *PB tr.*, p. xxiv.

<sup>52</sup> Śātyāyani p. 157,10 is in a Brāhmaṇa-quotation.

<sup>53</sup> See my paper “On the quotations of ritualistic teachers in the Śrautasūtras of Lātyāyana and Drāhyāyana”, [*Prof. Raghu Vira Memorial Volume*], New Delhi 1967(?), pp. 69–85, esp. n. 4 and § 3 sqq. Bhavatrāṭa also seems to acknowledge that these teachers belong to the other school, cf. n. 50: of Śāṇḍilya and Ābhīśrenya the Talavakāras have to follow the latter.

*Śāndilya* (III,3,2: 214,18; 215,22; 5: 224,26 sq. 23,28; 4,4: 240,10 sq. [*śāndi-lānām ācāryāḥ*]; 5: 246,26 [see n. 50]; 6: 248,26 [see n. 50]; 7: 250,12 [see n. 50]; 5,2: 265,30; 3: 266,29), *Dhānamjayya* (III,3,2: 214,19 sqq. [correct the text]; 215,18 sqq. [ditto]; 4: 221,8,27 [ditto]; 5: 222,9,22; 223,1,6,8 sq. 28; 224,17 sq. 23,28; 4,1: 230,12; 2: 235,7; 5,2: 265,30); *Gautama* (III,3,2: 214,3; 215,16; 5,1: 6,19; 5: 268,5 sq.), *Kṣairakalambhi* (III,4,1: 230,12 sq.; 2: 233,20 sq.), *Lāmakāyana* (III,6,1: 270,29 sq.), *Vārṣaganya* (III,2,2: 205,5). All of these are known from the Kauthuma texts, especially of the LSS, but from no Jaiminiya text. *Vaiyāghrapadya* (II,2: 144,31 [correct the text: <sup>o</sup>*varya*]; III, 6,1: 270,13 sq. 16 sqq.; 5: 277,13 sq. [text: *vyā<sup>o</sup>*]), *Kutsāḥ* (III,3,4: 220,18 sq.; 221,7 [Bh.: *akutsā eva vayam*]; 5: 222 sq. *passim* [222,3: see below, p. 204; 6 sqq. Bh.: *asmākāṇ kutsair aikamatyam*]) are all found in the LSS but also in the Jaiminiyas (V. in the *vāṇśas* of JUB 3,40,2 and 4,16,1 [but also in ChU 5,16,1] etc.).

*Kāpaṭava* (III,10,3: 319,6) is known from VāṇśaB 1,25; Anupada-sūtra 4,1; 7,10; and Nidānasūtra 4,8; 9,13. The curious reference *purāṇam tāṇḍam* in LSS 7,10,17 (cf. Caland, *PB tr.*, p. xxvi) is also now paralleled: *procuḥ purāṇās tāṇḍinah* (III,4,2: 234,26).

Only *Lauhitya* (II,4: 174,28 sq.) is definitely a Jaiminiya (as the patronym of numerous teachers in the JUB, elsewhere only *Lauhikya* once in the ŚāṅkhĀ), besides *Ābhiśreṇya* (see n. 50).

The rest are less known:

*Bhāguri* (III,3,4: 221,19 sqq.; known from the Somotpatti, an unpublished pariśiṣṭa of the Kauthumas; cf. Renou, *Les écoles*, § 76 p. 91). *Ārtabhāga* (III,6,1: 270,25; patronym of Jaratkārava in BĀU 3,2,1,13), *Lakṣmaṇi* (III,5,1: 259,25 sq.), *Pākāyana* (III,12,8: 335,10 sq. [*vā pā<sup>o</sup>*: read *lāmakāyana?*]), *Maugata?* (II,4: 174,27 sq. [sū.: *maugataḥ*, comm.: *mauga ācāryo vāñcanti*, corr. by Sh. into <sup>o</sup>*ati*]), *Vāndārava* (III,11,1: 325,14 sq. 18,20), *Lātapeya* (III,12,3: 331,5 sqq.), *Kroṣṭuki* (III,12,3: 331,9; cf. A. A. Macdonell & A. B. Keith, *Vedic Index of Names and Subjects*, London 1912, s.v. *Krauṣṭuki*).

The school names and the Kauthuma teachers have been quoted, as may be seen from the above lists, only in the Paryadhyāya; this makes it very probable that it is later than the Sūtra and the Kalpa. (Ābhiśreṇya's Pratihārasūtra is only included in it later.) The Kauthuma teachers seem to be posterior to Maśakakalpasūtra; two of them, Śāndilya and Dhānamjayya, are quoted in the Kṣudrasūtra, but most of them are mentioned for the first time in the LSS.<sup>53</sup> The Paryadhyāya can be based on the LSS (or vice versa though less probably), for many passages agree closely. Cf. e.g.

JŚS III,3,5,2 (222,2 sqq.):

*iłā* (iṣṭā ed.) ... *tīti*.

etām *iłām* (iṣṭām ed.) *sam*(su ed.) *pragāyanti* sam-  
astām pragāyanti *sahekāreṇa* (saha nakāreṇa ed.)  
nidhanam kurvanti [*kutsāḥ*] kutsaśiyāḥ (°śisyā  
āha ed.). kasya hetor iti cet: *evam* kṛte *kṛtsneḍā*  
(kṛtsnā iṣṭā- ed.) nidhanatvenopetā bhavati (°vanti  
ed.). *na* iti (neti ed.) saṣṭhī trtīyārthe: asmābhīr ity  
arthah. *ity* (iti ed.) asya hetor ity uktam bhavati ...

etc.

LŚS 7,8,19

ikārāntam  
caivopāyam  
sampragāyanti  
kutsā, evam  
nah kṛtsnedo-  
petā bhaviṣ-  
yatiti ...

But there are also quotations, e.g. *purāṇas tāṇḍinah* (~ LŚS *purāṇam* *tāṇḍam* differs in subject matter) (see above), which cannot be found in the LŚS. It would be important to learn the nature of the sources from which the sūtrakāras drew; it must be noted that opinions of the same authorities, unknown from the earlier literature preserved to us and certainly not based on direct knowledge of the respective teachers, are to be found in later texts like the Karmapradīpa.<sup>54</sup> Perhaps the quotations of the JŚS, when they can be properly evaluated after the publication of the sūtra text, will yield a solution to the problem; but that these teachers have been quoted in this text also is in itself a remarkable new piece of information.

As regards the Kalpa, the specimen below (p. 208 sq.) shows that it closely resembles that by Maśaka. But is it on the model of Jaimini's Samjñākalpa that Lātyāyana has supplemented Maśaka or is Jaimini's more complete exposition even later than the LŚS? And is the separation of the Stomakalpa and the Sāmakalpa to be considered a development? We can as yet only guess, but also in analogy to the Samhitā (cf. Renou, *Les écoles*, p. 98 n. 1), the Brāhmaṇa (cf. Caland quoted ib. p. 101), and the Sūtra (cf. above p. 201), the Jaiminikalpa seems more likely to be older.

#### *The division etc.*

Since there is apparently a lacuna also in the Ms. Ba (and H<sup>2</sup> ends here!) after p. 204 in Shastri's ed., and the first adhyāya colophon comes (like in M<sup>3</sup>) at the end of the third adhyāya, Ramaswami concluded that "the MS. under description is incomplete in the middle because a portion

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<sup>54</sup> My article cited in the preceding note needs complementing with regard to the later texts; I hope to revert to the matter in detail soon.

of the Paryadhyāyapariśeṣa extending from the middle of the second Khaṇḍa of the first Adhyāya to the middle of the third Khaṇḍa of the third Adhyāya is missing" (p. 111). But Shastri is certainly right in believing that no greater part is missing (p. xi). This is shown already by the consecutive numbering which runs through the whole last book, and also by the evidence supplied by the commentators. P. 346,12 Jayanta says: *granthānām iha proktam catvārimśacchatam mayā*. He then enumerates first the works on which Bhavatrāta has commented: Sūtra (26 khaṇḍas), Gṛhya (33), Vaikṛta (1), Stoma (8), Samjnā (1), of the Paryadhyāya the first three anuvākas and (of the fourth)<sup>55</sup> the establishment of the viṣṭutis with the excepting of the *pathyā*—in saying on p. 329,1 sq. *neha ṣaṭ khaṇḍān rjvarthā iti vṛttikṛt kalpyādīn* he leaves no doubt as to what he means—(63); together with the works commented on by Jayanta himself, Ārṣeya (1), Prākṛta (1) and Parihāravidhi (6), this makes 140. Another question is how we are to account for the testimony found by Shastri (p. vi) from the Prapañcaḥṛdaya (which seems to be later than Bhavatrāta, cf. Garge, p. 4): *talavakāraśākhāprayuktaṁ sāmavaidikavisayam caturaśitipatalaih jaimininā pradarśitam*. Shastri (p. vi) has already shown that in the commentary itself we have references to patalas,<sup>56</sup> not to khaṇḍas (the latter designation only in the colophons of the Ms.) and he seems to be right also in that the two terms are equivalent and the former the original.<sup>57</sup> But his explanation for the difference 140 : 84, viz., that the finer division of the last three adhyāyas is later and made for pedagogical reasons, is impossible because this division is presupposed by the number 140 (cf. above); cf. also PB. I leave the question open.

My restoration of the adhyāya division in the beginning of the Paryadhyāya rests on the following facts: At the beginning of [3.] (p. 212,1 sq.) Bh. says: *pañca sāmno 'vayavāḥ ... teṣāṁ parimāṇasvarūpāvasthā-*

<sup>55</sup> Apparently the Paryadhyāya has also been divided into four anuvākas comprising three adhyāyas each.

<sup>56</sup> In addition to the three references given by Shastri p. vi, cf. p. 249,13 sq. (*prathame paṭale ...*); 254,16 (... *uktā prathame paṭale*); 266,18 sq. (*iyad asmābhīḥ pūrvapāṭalānte ...*); 340,6 sq. (*ekavimśapaṭalam asmin paṭaladvaye na* [read thus] *vācyam asti*); and the next note. References to adhyāyas are met with frequently; e.g. p. 42,2 sq. (*asmābhīs tu prakṛtibhedāḥ pañcavimśatiḥ prthag eva saptaṁ adhyāya-parisamāptau kalpayiṣyante*), twice p. 324 (*pūrvasmīn adhyāye*), etc.

<sup>57</sup> The four paṭalas by Ābhiśreṇya (cf. n. 50) comprise four khaṇḍas in the comm. Cf. also the division of the text Ms., below, p. 208 sq.

*navikāravrdhīhrāsavijñānam ayamādinādhyāyatrayeṇa* (Ms. *adamādi*<sup>o</sup>, Sh. *ādi*<sup>o</sup>) *kriyate*. At the end the colophon runs *ity tṛtiyo ’dhyāyah*; that the *pratihāra* forms one *adhyāya* (the fourth) is proved not only by the colophon<sup>58</sup> but also by the fact that Bh. speaks of “the four *paṭalas*” and not of “the *adhyāya*” taught by Ābhiśrenya (n. 50). That the fourth *khaṇḍa* of the *Paryadhyāya* still belongs to [2.] is seen from the reference *parasmīn adhyāye* p. 206,17 where the end of kh. 7 [=3,2] is meant. The *khaṇḍas* 2 and 3 should belong to the second *adhyāya* because their subject matter differs from that of kh. 1 but accords with that of kh. 4–5; this is corroborated by the fact that if we divide in this way one *adhyāya* always comes to correspond with one line (7 sqq.) in the metrical table of contents to the JSS supplied by Bh. p. 313, with two exceptions: the twofold (cf. the first of the two redundant and apparently spurious lines at the end) *pratihāra-adhyāya* (two lines, 10–11), and the last three *adhyāyas* (last line, but here expressly *trayo ’dhyāyāḥ*).

### § 5. The Lost sūtra Text Rediscovered

As already remarked, Bh. usually quotes the sūtras in abbreviated form only. Excepting the agniṣṭoma portion, Shastri has supplied the wording of the sūtra only in one single case (p. 226,1); for his marking of the Sūtras cf. n. 8. The text, however, could have been restored in many cases without too much trouble:

- 1) On the basis of the commentary. E.g. p. 243,1 sqq.:

*pragī ... syāma / prakarṣena gītāni pragītāni / gītasya prakarṣo bahukṛtv  
gānam / yāni yonāv utpannāni sāmāni stotrārtham ūhāmnāye giyante tāni  
pragītāni / athavā okārastobhāvṛtyudāttādibhiḥ [ed. okārah sto<sup>o</sup>] viśeṣaiḥ  
vikṛtya yāni giyante tāni sarvathohāmnāyagatānity [ed. °ā ū°] arthah /  
teṣām pragītānām ūhāmnāyagatānām sāmnām pratihārān [yathādhītān]  
yathāvadadhītān adhyayanavaśena kīptān vyākhyāsyāmaḥ / pratihārān ity  
etāvatā siddheḥ yathādhītān ity anarthakam / nānarthakam / adhyaya-  
navaśenaiva geyāni / yathā gītiviśeṣaiḥ parokṣaiḥ stobhaiś cādhyayane  
višeṣya giyante tathaiva pratihārakāle ’pi geyānity etadarthatvāt.*

- 2) On the basis of the numerous quotations of the sūtras in the commentary: e.g. the sūtra p. 157,27 *bṛharbhāve* (sic) is quoted a few lines

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<sup>58</sup> P. 257; read: *iti pragītāmasu pratihāravidhiḥ* [III,4,5–8]. *⟨iti⟩ caturtho ’dhyāyah samāptaḥ*.

later, 158,6, *in extenso*: *bṛhacchaya ārbhave* (also 141,18); or the two sūtras 246,24 sqq. = (quoted) 243,11 sqq.; 271,18 = 4 lines later; 272,6 = 271,30; 316,1 = 318,11; 316,17 = 318,12, etc. The quotations need not be in the same chapter or so: e.g. 215,25 = 41,27; all the rules prohibiting the ‘sameness’ of the ends of the sāmans p. 162 sq. have been quoted, even twice, p. 273,9 sqq. and here we can see that Bh. has in many cases cut off only a few syllables, sometimes nothing: *sāma[jāmi na] kalpayet, na svā[re saha] kuryāt, na ni[dhana]vatī, naiḍe, narksame*; this (see especially p. 273) is also a good example of how much the present edition could have been improved if the quotations had been duly traced (an alphabetical index of the sūtras, abbreviated or not, and of the quotations would have been very useful). Quotations may be found also in other works: the one by Dhanvin (see p. 182) I have verified on p. 216,2 sqq. (the text of the first sūtra cannot be found even in abbreviated form): *sa khalu tatrāśaktah san param* (!) *parvam abhyasyamānasya stobhasya pādasya vā khaṇḍam avayavam ārabhya nispādya samāpyāramet / ... nānta ... vānyāt / antareṇa pade* (!) *padasya madhye na vyavānyāt nāramet.*

But in the vast majority of cases there are no quotations and the commentary may also be terse, so it would be very difficult to reconstruct the whole of the sūtra text (as has been done by W. Caland at the Gautamapitṛmedhasūtra),<sup>59</sup> and the result would also be uncertain.

Fortunately it is not necessary to embark on this task but for a short passage. I have been lucky enough to detect in the *Tanjore Descr. Cat.* (Vol. IV, 1929, pp. 1503–1506, no. 1969) a manuscript of the lost sūtra text where apparently only II,1–2 and part of II,3 is missing. In the colophon the work is called Kalpabrahmaṇa; the cataloguer thought it was “probably by Maśaka”. But the description itself makes it clear that the text belongs to the Jaiminiya school (the order of the sacrifices is in line with the JB), and this is confirmed by the two other works contained in the same codex (cf. n. 9 and p. 212 sq.).

The palm-leaf Ms. ( $16 \times 1\frac{1}{2}$ ”), “in a fairly good condition”, is written in devanāgarī and comprises foll. 11–128 with six to seven lines on a page. It is stated to be complete, but the extract from the beginning shows that the missing first ten folia belonged to the same work. I give below the text of the published extracts, corrected, furnished with punctuation

<sup>59</sup> *The Pitṛmedhasūtras of Baudhāyana, Hiranyakeśin, Gautama.* Ed. by W. Caland. Leipzig 1896 (AbhKM X: 3). — Addition in n. 70.

etc., and references to the edition of Bhavatrāṭa's commentary (what has been quoted there is in italics) and to the parallels.

## JŚS II,3

p. 128,16

(Cf. JB 2,166; Maś. III,1,a–c)

purojiti vo andhasa iti (JS 3,5,6–8)  
 nānadam (C[atalogue] nādam)  
 ekasyām, madhuścunnidhanam  
 ekasyām, śyāvāśvam ekasyām,  
 āndhīgavam tisṛsu (C triṣu), kā-  
 vam antyam, yajñāyajñīyam (C  
 °jyañ) ca, sākamaśvam ca, sau-  
 bharam ca, nārmedham ca; ṣo-  
 daśī, pañcadaśī rātris, trivṛt san-  
 dhir iti.

p. 128,24

*trikadrukās* (C trikarmakās; in the  
 ed. *ṣoḍaśī* has wrongly been taken  
 into the sūtra from the preceding  
 comm., and the sū. itself should  
 be read with the ms. (n. 8  
 °kā(h)).

p. 128,25

*traikadrukas tryahāḥ* (C traikarma°;  
 the ed. where this has not been  
 marked as a sū., °aha) // 3 //

## JŚS II,4

p. 129,0 (lacuna at the beginning!)

(Cf. JB 2,167–168; Maś. III,14)

(Cf. JB 2,108 sqq. and 169–170)

(Cf. JB 2,171–172)

(Cf. JB 2,173)

trivṛd agniṣṭomaś śunaskarṇastomas.

sadrśāv agniṣṭomau manustomau (C marutstomau).

trivṛti (C tṛvṛti) prātaḥsavane  
 pañcadaśam acchāvākasyājyam,  
 saptadaśam (C sarvan daśama)  
 mādhyandinam savanam, {(^m)  
 sarvam} ekavimśam tṛtiyasavam;  
 sa ukthyo gāyatras.

catasṛsu bahispavamānam, aṣṭāsv  
 ājyāni, dvādaśo mādhyandinah  
 pavamānah, ṣoḍaśāni pr̄ṣṭhāni  
 (C °tāni), sa viṁśā ārbhavaś,  
 caturvimśam agniṣṭomasāma.

p. 129,1

*yajñāyajñīya*asya ṣadbhiḥ stutvā  
(C ṣat bhistu<sup>o</sup>; cf. Bh.) ... pa  
... sāmabhiḥ ... kṣu

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p. 130, *in fine* (lacuna; 130,6 =  
*ṛtuṣṭomāḥ* [read thus] JB 2,211–  
213; 7 = *diśāṁ stomāḥ* ib. 214–  
216) (Cf. JB 2,217–220)  
[cf. p. 131,1 *vrātyastomāḥ* = JB  
2,221 sqq.]

trivrd agnistomo vasiṣṭhasya, pañ-  
cadaśāgniṣṭomo bharadvājasya,  
saptadaśāgniṣṭomo jamadagner,  
ekavimśo 'gniṣṭomo gautamasya,  
triṇavo 'gniṣṭomo 'tres, trayas-  
trimśo 'gniṣṭomo viśvāmitrasya,  
śoḍaśāgniṣṭomo 'gastyasya // 4 //

(End:)

p. 340,6 (Cf. PB 3,12,1)

athāṣṭācatvārimśasya: śo[ḍaśabhyo  
hiṅ]karoti sa tisṛbhiḥ sa dvāda-  
śabhiḥ sa ekayā, śoḍaśa[bhyo  
hiṅka]roti sa ekayā sa tisṛbhīs sa  
dvādaśabhiḥ, śoḍaśabhyā eva  
hiṅkaroti sa dvādaśabhiḥ sa ekayā  
sa tisṛbhīr ity, aṣṭācatvārimśa-  
dakṣarā jagatī pādamātrā āvāpo  
bhavati, śoḍaśino ha paryāyā bha-  
vanti, dvādaśy āvāpas, tad {aṣṭā-  
catvāri} aṣṭācatvārimśadakṣarā  
jagatī //

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p. 340,11

*atha* navabhyo hiṅkaroti sa tisṛ-  
bhiḥ sa pañcabhiḥ sa ekayāṣṭā-  
bhyo hiṅkaroti [sa ekayā] sa  
tisṛbhīs sa catasṛbhīr, aṣṭābhyā  
eva hiṅkaroti [sa catasṛ]bhīs sa  
ekayā sa tisṛbhīr ity pañcavim-  
śasya. pañcavidhe stome pañca-  
vāpo.

p. 340,11 (sū missing, but cf.  
comm.)

'thāsyā dvau ca navavargāv  
abhitō bhavataḥ (ed. *vatam*).

p. 340,13

*sapta* [— (something must be  
missing here, cf. ed.)] paryāyas.  
*tasyaivamvihitasya* nava — ha  
pūrve stotriye

p. 340,13

p. 340,14

- p. 340,14   **bhajete** (C °*jate*). *saptottamā*  
 p. 340,14   **bhajate** (ed. °*jete*). *vid* (C & ed.  
    *vid(d)h*, but cf. comm.) *eva nir-*  
    *bhājyata iti* //
- 
- p. 340,18   [tad ya ——] *kuryād yathā sapt-*  
    *daśapañcavimśyator*, *atha yat-*  
    *raiko hrasiṣṭhah paryāyo bha-*  
    *vati madhyam antaram kuryād*  
    *yathā catvārimśa* —  
    [*atha vi*]dvān (C dvau; cf. Bh.)  
    *manyeta: na me kaś* (C *kañ*) *cana*  
    *stomo [']vi[jñāto 'nabhihitā cā]-*  
    *sti, nākṛpta iti, nākṛpta iti, nākṛpt-*  
    *ta iti* [——] *samāptah* //  
    *kalpabrahmaṇam idam* //  
    *upari (sic) ārṣeyam likhyā(syā)-*  
    *mah* //  
 p. 341,1   *om ity etat parameṣṭhinah +*  
 p. 346,8   *prājāpatyaṁ gāyatram* // (cf.  
    above, p. 201).

There can be no doubt whatsoever that this manuscript contains the lost sūtra text. The catalogue also gives the marginal headings and the number of the relevant leaf, thus supplying an index to it (the figures in brackets indicating the relevant page in Shastri's ed. of the vṛtti where it could be ascertained have been added by me):

fol. 11 *abhijid atirātrah* (p. 129), *viśvajit sarvapṛṣṭhātirātrah* (129); 12 *vājapeya* (129), *pratiśinastomātirātrah*; *agniṣṭomabhedāḥ*; *rudrāṇām agniṣṭomaḥ*; 14 *dvirātrah* (132); *parākadvirātrah* (sic! read °*tri*° cf. JB 2,280; PB 21,8); 15 *cāturmāsyam*; 16 *gargatrīrātrah*; 18 *catūrātrah* (134); 20 *paundarīkaḥ* (134); 29 *kṛptih* (141?); 36 *saṣṭhah* (146 sq.?) 37 *abhijit* (148); 46 *jātakam* (*rāśicakram*) (164?); 49 *rṣabhasya* (173), *vyomnaḥ*, *phalabhit* (read *vala*°), *udbhīt*; 53 *catu-*  
*ṣṭomo 'gniṣṭut* (174); 55 *r̥tāpeyasya* (176), *citistomasya*, *rāśeh*; 57 *abhijit*;  
*viśvajit* (177); 58 *keśāvapanīyam*, *vyuṣṭah* (sic) (178); 75 *prastāvah* (212);  
 80 *pratihārah* (226); 83 *pratihārasūtram* (243); 86 *mahānāmnī* (253); 98 *abhipla-*  
*vavikalpah* (281); 102 *mahāvrataśilpah* (296?); 109 *sapta saṃsthāḥ* (303);  
*pṛṣṭhadharmāḥ* (303).

## § 6. The kārikās and prayogas

Ābhiśreṇya's Pratihārasūtra (above, p. 199 and n. 50) is the only old text known to us which is attached to the JSS. The spurious additional khanḍa of the Ms. B<sup>2</sup> (see n. 36) may or may not be a fragment of some larger work (N.B. *iti rauraviṇām* [i.e., *raurukīṇām?*] *iti* at the end).

Besides Bhavatrāṭa's and Jayanta's commentary, the JSS has two different kārikās both of which explain the agniṣṭoma. One was already known to Gaastra and published by her on the basis of one ms. (cf. p. 182). Another Ms. of this work is found in Baroda;<sup>60</sup> there it is called Vainateyakārikā. Ramaswami is most likely right in his conclusion (p. xii) that "the author of these Kārikās must be the same Vinatānandana who is known to have written a Prayoga work called Prayogasāra which belonged to the Jaiminīyagrhyasūtra"; but cf. also n. 9. The author mentions (v. 3, and in the last verse, 215) *bhavatrāṭavacah*,<sup>61</sup> calls himself (v. 4: or are we to read <sup>o</sup>*nam?*) the "decoration of the village of Vasīṣṭha,"<sup>62</sup> and pays homage (v. 4ff.) to his teacher Śrinivāsārya, possibly the Śrinivāsa whose commentary on the JGS has been preserved (cf. also below).

A shorter kārikā with 116 ślokas has become known together with Bhavatrāṭa's commentary, the Sūtra portion of which it follows in the Mss. "Its authorship is attributed to one Mādhava besides Bhavatrāṭa. It is difficult to understand whether this Mādhava is a collaborator or merely a copyist." Thus Ramaswami (p. 111). In the introductory verses (cited by him p. 113 and by Shastri p. x), however, Mādhava declares that he copies (*mādhavena ... vilikhyate*) the vṛtti and the kārikā both of which have been written by Bhavatrāṭa (*vṛttim ... kṛtvā ślokān imān api / pathati sma bhavatrāṭo*). These words are found at least in M<sup>3</sup> and Ba (cf. above, p. 184).<sup>63</sup>

From Ramaswami's catalogue we learn that Mss. of two prayogas following the JSS exist in Baroda. The Kratudipikā by Kuraṅgarāja, son of Nīlamāṇikka, of the Vāsiṣṭha gotra and the village Arjunagrāma,<sup>64</sup>

<sup>60</sup> Ramaswami, p. 80 (work no. 533): Ms. no. 9860 (B), foll. 4–15, palm-leaves with grantha script.

<sup>61</sup> The same village from which Bhavatrāṭa's family came to Kerala (see above, p. 187)?

<sup>62</sup> The colophon *ity agniṣṭomakalpe mādhavīyā kārikā* is not found in Ba. Shastri p. ix sq. calls also the other kārikā "mādhavīyā"!

<sup>63</sup> Is Arjunagrāma the village "Nagārjunam near Māyūram in Tanjore district"

cannot be older than c. 250 years if the last words of the Ms.<sup>64</sup> go back to the author, for homage is paid here not only to Jaimini and Bhavatrāṭa but also to Sabhāpati, the author of the Dhāraṇalakṣaṇa.<sup>65</sup> It explains the actions of the establishment of the sacred fires, the agnihotra (according to Bodhāyana, as the author himself declares), and the jyotiṣṭoma, in the order in which they should be performed. A short extract (more in Rāmaswami p. 191 sq.) is enough to give an idea of what the work is like:

fol. 3b (the beginning of the jyotiṣṭoma; cf. JSS I,1) *atha rathantarasāmnā jyotiṣṭome prathamāṇ dīkṣāṇīyocaye / atrodgāttravarane kiṇ cid viśeṣo 'sti / somapravāka udgātūr niketanam gatvā śrīkṛṣṇaśarmaṇah somo bhaviṣyati / tatra bhavataudgātṛam kartavyāṇ ity udgātṛāṇ vṛṇuyāt / so 'pi kariṣyāmīty uktrā mahan me 'voco bhadram me 'vocāḥ puṣṭim me 'voco yaśo me 'voca iti somapravākam pratyuktvā punar api kac cin nāhināḥ (sic) etc.*

The Ādhānapūrvāgniṣṭomaprayoga by Śrīnivāsa Adhvareṇḍra, the commentator of the JGS (cf. the title *śrīnivāsādhvareṇḍrī jaiminī-sūtravyākhyā subodhīnī*), is very similar to the above.<sup>66</sup> An interesting statement is found after the colophon at the end of the prayoga proper: the office of the adhvaryu priest is to be performed according to Baudhāyana for the Jaiminīyas (cf. Kuraṅgarāja above, and Caland, JGS ed. 1905, p. 12; but cf. also Bhavatrāṭa p. 52 [cf. above p. 191]). The sāmans to be sung at the piling of the fire altar (cf. JSS I,4), and thereafter *agniṣṭoma ājyapṛṣṭhayajñāyajñīyākhyeṣu triṣu stotreṣu gānaprakārā ye viśiṣya dṛṣyante tadākarabhbūtāni brāhmaṇavākyāni* follow. Extracts in Ramaswami, p. 219 sq.

In the same codex which contains the sūtra text of JSS II,3–III,12 is found a work which must be taken into consideration in this connection:

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from which the “Talavakāra expert Venkatarāma Makhin came and settled in Uttamasili near Śrīrangam, about three hundred years ago” (Raghavan, p. 12)?

<sup>64</sup> Ramaswami, p. 46 (work no. 245): Ms. no. 9868, 29 palm-leaves with grantha script (650 granthas).

<sup>65</sup> In the introductory verses Sabhāpati pays homage to Venkatarāma Makhin (see n. 63) and his son, cf. Raghavan, p. 12.

<sup>66</sup> Ramaswami, p. 51 (work no. 286): Ms. no. 10881 (B), foll. 18–66, palm-leaves with grantha script (1000 granthas): here called Jaiminiśrautaprayoga, but cf. the beginning: *om ādhānapūrvāgniṣṭomaprayogo 'bhidhīyate / athodgātṛāṇ sūtrī prāḥ / śrīnivāsaśarmaṇā ādhānapūrvakāḥ somo bhaviṣyati / tatraudgātṛam bhavatā kartavyam iti / sa pratyāha / mahan me 'voco etc.*, and the colophon: *ity ādhānapūrvāgniṣṭomaprayogāḥ sampūrṇāḥ / ...*

the Prayogavṛtti by Candraśekhara Bhaṭṭārya Pañcāgni which is based, according to the colophon at the end, on Bhavatrāta's work (*grantha*) and the Brāhmaṇa.<sup>67</sup> It is quite voluminous; the Ms., unfortunately “in a decaying condition”, comprises 146 palm leaves written in grantha.<sup>68</sup> The beginning, the introduction, quoted in the catalogue, is lacunary but the author here seems to define his work as a commentary on the Kalpa portion of the JSS; taking into consideration also the colophon, I am led to feel that our Ms. is not “incomplete” as stated in the catalogue:

... varan̄ khyātaṁ bhr̄nair [?] jaiminiḥ //  
 tatsūtraṇ̄ tatprā[...]rthan̄ granthaṇ̄ cālocya śaktitah̄ /  
 tadarthaṇ̄ grathyate 'rtho 'yam̄ mayā matto 'pi ye dhriyāḥ //  
 sūtrakalpa ... /  
 ... //  
 taiḥ paṭhyate hy avayavais tribhir yajñaśāstram idam /  
 atra varṇyate kalpagocaram idam mayādhunā //<sup>69</sup>

After explaining the concepts ‘archetype’ and ‘ectype’, and the nine ‘connexions’ of the sāmans at the ectypes (cf. Bhavatrāta, p. 171 sqq.), Candraśekhara says:

ekāhāḥ prathamāṇ̄ paścād ahīnāś ca tataḥ param //  
 satrāṇ̄i caivam asmābhīḥ pradarśyante kramāṇ makhāḥ(?) /  
 tatra gavām ayanasya dvādaśāhāḥ prakṛtiḥ //

From the headings in the margins reproduced in the catalogue it appears that the main bulk is concerned with the different sacrifices (the order being in line with the JB and the JSS):

fol. 30 (vyoman)-119 (paṇḍarīka): *ekāhāḥ & ahīnāḥ*; the rest deals in the first place with the gavām ayana: fol. 121-134; hereafter we have only the heading fol. 146 *prāyaścittasāmaviniyogasamāptiḥ*. At the end which has been quoted in the catalogue, Candraśekhara quotes Bhavatrāta on JSS III,4,1 (pratihāra!): 228,12-15 (“...” iti punaś ca granthaḥ) and 21-23. Hereafter comes only *evaṁ sāmnāṇ bhaktayaś ca prāyaśo darśitā iti*, and the colophon (n. 67). This is all the more unexpected as the first part of the work treats of related matters: fol. 8 *kṛṣṭasvara-*

<sup>67</sup> Colophon: eśācāryabhadavatrātagranthabrahmanavikṣaṇāt / candraśekharabhaṭṭā-  
 ryapañcāgner abhavat kṛtiḥ // etc. Several Candraśekharas are known to Aufrecht,  
*Cat. cat. I-III*, but none of them can be identified with our author.

<sup>68</sup> *Tanjore Descr. Cat.*, Vol. 5, 1929, pp. 2208-2214, no. 2623. For foll. 147-160  
 see n. 9.

<sup>69</sup> The division of the last lines is mine.

*vicārah*, 9 *mātrālaksanam*, *pañcabhaktinidānam*, 10 *bhaktivibhāgah*, 15 *gāyatasām{na}nah bhaktih*, 16 *chandovicārah*, 24 *kramavicārah*, 27 *vikrtibhedāh*. Among the headings registered we find in the middle of the gavām ayana portion fol. 130 *samjnākalpe caturthakhaṇḍasamāptih!*?

Candraśekhara's Prayogavṛtti is apparently not an independent work but in the main only a compilation of Bhavatrāta's vṛtti. For the textual critic of this text, however, it is very valuable.

As I am planning a critical edition of the JŚS and the material is very scanty, I wish to conclude with an appeal to be informed<sup>70</sup> of any new MSS. I would also like to emphasize the need of a systematic search for the Ūha- and Ūhyagāna of the Jaiminiyas which would be of very great importance not only to the study of the JŚS but of the Vedic chant in general.

<sup>70</sup> My address is: Untuvaisent. 5 B 64, Helsinki-82, Finland. —*Addenda*: n. 12: Mātrdatta's comm. on praśnas 19–20 has been published in the Poona ed. of the SatyāśāṅghaŚS (1907–1932; 10 vols.; Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Ser., 53). p. 186 sq.: *KauśitakiGS with Bhavatrāta's vṛtti* has been edited by T. R. Chintamani, Madras 1944 (Madras Univ. Sanskrit Ser.). n. 59: It seems, however, that the sūtra text reconstructed by Caland has been quoted *in extenso* by the commentator. p. 211: *bhavatrātah* is mentioned in Vainateyakārikā 172.

GÖSTA LIEBERT

**Nochmals *nīcaina-***

In Orientalia Suecana 14–15/1966 S. 169 ff., hat Dr. R. P. Kangle eine Kritik über meine Deutung von Meghadūta Str. 25 dargelegt. In meinem Aufsatz „Ai. *nīcaina-* statt *nīcaih* als Gebirgsname“ (Or. Suec. 13, 126 ff.) habe ich die Vermutung geäussert, dass ein Gebirgsname *nīcaina-* in der oben erwähnten Strophe von Meghadūta auf einem Pflanzennamen \**nīcainaś* fussen könnte, der die Narde-Pflanze bezeichnet, und dass der Ausdruck *praudhaṇuṣpaiḥ kadambaiḥ* in der zweiten Zeile derselben Strophe eine versteckte Anspielung auf einen anderen Namen derselben Pflanze enthielte (N.B! meine genauen Worte, a. a. O. S. 128: „dass darin der Pflanzennname *kadambapuṣpā* versteckt enthalten sein kann“; s. auch ebda. zur Übersetzung im Übrigen). Ich meinte somit, dass diese Anspielung in einer wortspielerischen Form geschehen sei, indem diese Konstruktion eine andere ersetzte: *praudhābhīḥ kadambapuṣpābhiḥ* (weil *kadambapuṣpā* m. E. ein anderer Name der Narde ist, vgl. Or. Suec. 13, 129 f. und ebd. 14–15, 157 und 161).

Hierüber sagt nun Dr. Kangle: „That the name of the plant would be left to be inferred by joining together a word which is the second member of a Bahuvrihi compound, and another word which is outside that compound is extremely unlikely. Such a construction is not to be found in Kālidāsa or, in fact, anywhere else in Sanskrit.“

Diese Kritik kann ich nicht ohne Einspruch stehen lassen. Erstens kann *praudhaṇuṣpaiḥ* ebensowohl ein substantivisches Determinativkompositum wie ein Bahuvrihi sein, aber dieser Unterschied spielt keine Rolle; zweitens scheint indessen Dr. Kangle, seinen Worten nach, die im Sanskrit sehr häufige Konstruktion nicht zu kennen, die Whitney in seiner Sanskrit grammar<sup>2</sup> § 1316 als „Loose construction with compounds“ bezeichnet, und über welche er sagt, „it is by no means rare that a word in composition has an independent word in the sentence depending upon or qualifying it alone, rather than the compound of which it forms a part.“ Tatsächlich begegnet eine derartige Konstruktion schon den meisten Anfängern im Sanskrit in der Nala-Episode 1,14:

*cittapramāthinī bālā devānām api* „ein Mädchen das die Sinne sogar der Götter beunruhigt“, die als lose Konstruktion (um das Wort *deva*- ausserhalb des Kompositums emphatisch hervorzuheben) einem Ausdruck wie etwa *devacittāny api pramāthinī bālā* entsprechend aufzufassen ist. Whitney hat, a. a. O., übrigens ein Beispiel auch dem Kālidāsa entnommen. Dass *praudhāpuspaiḥ kadambaiḥ* eine ähnliche (hier um des Wortspiels willen) lose Konstruktion für *kadambapuṣpābhīḥ praudhābhīḥ* sein könnte ist somit durchaus möglich. Wenn Dr. Kangle aber meint, dass Kālidāsa keine Wortspielereien gebraucht, dann möchte ich ein Studium von z. B. Megh. Str. 39 anbefehlen.

In der Strophe wird ferner bzgl. der Bedeckung des Berges ein Vergleich mit den kleinen Härchen auf dem Körper eines Menschen gezogen. In welcher Weise die traditionelle Deutung von den *kadamba*-Knospen als mit Körperhärchen verglichenen aufzufassen sei, bin ich mir wohl bewusst. Bevor ich meine Interpretation vorzulegen wagte, habe ich die Angaben und Illustrationen der Floren sorgfältig studiert, obgleich ich leider nicht die Gelegenheit gehabt habe, mir die *kadamba*-Blumen in der Sinnenwelt anzusehen.

Dr. Kangle hebt auch hervor, dass nach der herkömmlichen Auffassung eben die Knospen des *kadamba*- mit den Körperhärchen verglichen werden, und er betont, dass auch hier die Knospen des *kadamba*- gemeint sind. Aber Kālidāsa spricht hier nicht von Knospen. Ganz im Gegenteil: wenn wir uns hier an die frühere Deutung von *prauḍhapuṣpaiḥ kadambaiḥ* halten, finden wir, dass es von Assier de Pompignan mit „de ses nauclées aux fleurs épanouies“ übersetzt wird, vgl. auch z. B. G. R. Nandargikar: „with *Kadamba* trees having full-blown flowers.“ Wenn Kālidāsa die Knospen des *kadamba*- gemeint hätte, warum hat er dann nicht, statt *puspā-*, ein Wort für Knospe gebraucht, etwa *mukula*- (vgl. Megh. Str. 21) oder sogar *koraka*-, das ja als ein wesentlicher Bestandteil in den von Dr. Kangle angeführten Vergleichen enthalten ist? Voll entwickelte Blumen des *kadamba*- gehören somit nicht mit dem Anfang der Regenperiode zusammen, um den es sich jedoch hier auch nach der Meinung Dr. Kangle's handelt.

Ausserdem hat Kālidāsa schon kurz vorher in diesem Gedicht den wirklichen *kadamba*- erörtert, nämlich in der Str. 21:

*nīpaṁ dṛṣṭvā haritakapiśam̄ kesarair ardharūḍhair*

„nachdem (du) den orange-gelben *kadamba*- (= *nīpam*) mit seinen halbentsprossenen Staubfäden gesehen (hast) ...“ Er beschreibt

somit hier den *kadamba*- eben als Knospen (zufolge des ersten Regens) habend. Ist es dann wahrscheinlich, dass er in der Str. 25 schon wieder auf den *kadamba*- zurückkommt und dass er hier die Blumen desselben als voll entwickelt beschreibt?

Ferner habe ich in meinem Aufsatz, a. a. O. S. 132 mit Fn. 1, hervorgehoben, dass der *kadamba*- ein grosser Baum ist. Wenn Kālidāsa, der sonst sowohl naturalistische als auch poetische Metaphern gebraucht, hier wirklich an die *kadamba*-Blumen als Körperhärrchen gedacht hätte, dann hätte er unzweifelhaft gesagt, die *kadamba*-Bäume seien gleichwie mit Körperhärrchen bedeckt. Nun finden wir indessen im Text die Aussage, dass „der Berg wie mit Körperhärrchen bedeckt erscheint“ (*girim ... pulakitam iva*), und dies kann ich nur so auffassen, es sei tatsächlich der Boden, die Erde des Berges, die eine solche Bedeckung hat. Die Metapher mit den Körperhärrchen lässt sich m. E. somit nicht von den grossen *kadamba*-Bäumen auf die Erde überführen.

Dr. Kangle verwendet grosse Mühe darauf, meine Erklärungsversuche als mehr oder weniger „desperate“ darzustellen. Er selbst findet es einerseits offenbar natürlich, dass grosse Bäume von dem Betrachter mit Körperhärrchen verglichen werden; über meine Deutung, es handele sich hier statt dessen um die ganz haarähnlichen Fasern auf dem unteren Teil des Blütenstengels der Narde-Pflanze, sagt er andererseits: „why insist that the things imagined to be hairs must be exactly like hairs? In any case, the fibres on the plants would be so minute as to be almost unnoticeable by the cloud, which is expected to notice this sign of the mountain's joy on meeting him.“ Betreffs dieser beiden Punkte muss ich den Einwand erheben, dass Kālidāsa gar nicht meint, die Haarbekleidung solle etwa von der Höhe eines Flugzeugs bemerkt werden. Es heisst ja im Text: „um auszuruhen magst du dich auf dem Berg niederlassen“ (*girim adhivases ... viśrāmahetos*; vgl. *viśrāntah san*, Str. 26), und dann ist, um die Fasern zu sehen, etwa Manneshöhe genügend. Auch sonst spricht Kālidāsa von dem direkten Kontakt zwischen der Wolke und einem Berg (Str. 2), und wenn die Wolke sich auszuruhen wünscht, stelle ich mir vor, dass ihr die haarähnlichen Fasern der Narde ein viel weicheres, wonnigeres und zweckmässigeres Bett darbieten könnten als die knotigen Äste der grossen *kadamba*-Bäume. Und „this sign of the mountain's joy“ ist mithin der direkten Berührung mit der Wolke zu verdanken.

Die Erörterung des *kadamba*-, die von der Kritik Dr. Kangle's veranlasst worden ist, hat somit das Resultat ergeben, dass welche Pflanze

Kālidāsa in der Str. 25 auch immer in Gedanken gehabt hat, so ist es nicht der *kadamba*-Baum gewesen.

Wie ich zur Deutung von *nīcārā* als „Narde-Pflanze“ gelangt bin, will ich hier nicht nochmals abhandeln. Ich verweise aber ausserdem auf meinen zweiten Aufsatz über diesen Gegenstand „Zu den Benennungen der Narde-Pflanze im Sanskrit“, Or. Suec. 14–15, 155 ff., besonders S. 163 f. und 166.

Auch will ich gar nicht die Kenntnis Kālidāsa's über die Pflanzen im allgemeinen und hier über die Alpenpflanze Narde im besonderen unterschätzen. Ich finde es aber durchaus möglich, dass sie in gewisser Hinsicht mangelhaft gewesen sein kann, und dass Kālidāsa die Narde nicht selbst gesehen sondern sie in dieser Strophe nach Hörensagen beschrieben hat. Zum Vergleich möchte ich daran erinnern, dass noch am Ende des achzehnten Jahrhunderts der weitberühmte Orientalist Sir William Jones, der mit den Verhältnissen Indiens einschliesslich seiner botanischen Tatsachen sehr vertraut war, der selbst zur Erkenntnis der Narde beigetragen hat (Asiat. Res. 2,405), und dessen Name deshalb sogar mit der älteren botanischen Bezeichnung (*Valeriana jatamansi* Jones) derselben verbunden worden ist, selbst betreffs eines wichtigen Punktes über diese Pflanze unrichtig orientiert war: er stellte nämlich die echte Wurzel der Narde, die ihm gewiss als Handelsware bekannt war, mit dem Blätterstand einer ganz verschiedenen Pflanze zusammen (s. hierüber Or. Suec. 14–15, 155). Sir W. Jones hatte also die Narde an ihrem Standort offenbar nie gesehen. Man kann somit eine Pflanze beschreiben, ohne sie wachsen sehen zu haben. Auch heutzutage ist die Kenntnis über die Narde-Pflanze nicht besonders gross, vgl. die einander widerstreitenden Angaben in Platts's Hindī dictionary (s. näher a. a. O. S. 156 Fn. 1).

Damit verglichen soll man sich darüber nicht verwundern, falls Kālidāsa, der unzweifelhaft die Narde als Parfüm kannte, geglaubt hat, die Narde-Pflanze sei eine Gebirgspflanze überhaupt, und deshalb baute er irgendwo, wo es ihm passte, einen poetischen Berg auf, bedeckt mit Narde-Pflanzen, welche er nach den ihm gegebenen Schilderungen beschrieb, und versehen mit Berghöhlen für die parfümliebenden Kurtsianen.

Diese Erklärung, die übrigens mit meinen Schlussbemerkungen in Or. Suec. 13, 135 übereinstimmt, möchte ich jetzt für die andere setzen, in welcher ich die Möglichkeit andeutete, die Str. 25 sei irgendwo an das Ende des Gedichts umzustellen.

Dr. Kangle beendet seine Kritik damit, dass er meine Rekonstruktion des Gebirgsnamens als *nīcaira-* zwar für möglich hält, er schlägt aber in solchem Fall als Übersetzung des Namens „with low *era* grass“ vor. Diese Deutungsmöglichkeit habe ich selbst, a. a. O. S. 132 f., berücksichtigt — und abgewiesen, weil eine solche Interpretation keine Stütze weder in der Strophe selbst noch ausserhalb derselben hat.

## Book Reviews

ALESSIO BOMBACI, *The Kūfic inscription in Persian verses in the court of the royal palace of Mas'ud III at Ghazni*. Rome, Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1966. xv + 68 pp., XLI PLL., 4° (= Reports and memoirs, Vol. V).

This work gives a careful and very complete treatment of the fragments of an important New Persian inscription found by the Italian Archaeological Mission in Afghanistan during its excavations at Ghazni from 1959 to 1964. The inscription obviously belongs to a palace built for the Ghaznavid king Mas'ud III (492/1099–508/1115). Another inscription (in Arabic) dates the completion of this palace or part of it to Ramadān 1, 505 A.H. (March 3, 1112). This makes the New Persian inscription in question one of the oldest known examples of the epigraphic use of Persian in Arabic characters, an important contribution to the history of written New Persian as well as hint of the fast iranization of the Turkish dynasties of that time (cf. p. 42).

The inscription, which is carved in floriated Kūfic characters, seems to have been very long, as it adorns a dado frieze running along all four sides of the main court of the palace. Unfortunately, not even one tenth of the inscription was found *in situ*, about 130 words in all. Additional scattered fragments not *in situ* give about the same amount of text, but these cannot be combined in coherent phrases. An interesting fact is that the inscription is composed in metrical form, the part best preserved being in the metre *mutaqārib*, other parts obviously in another metre, possibly *mujtatt*.

The author has described and interpreted his material with the utmost care, and the result is at once a richly documented, and a beautifully produced, book. The illustrations (41 plates) are of a high quality, and the work must be welcomed as a valuable contribution to the literature on Arabic-Persian epigraphy. While some additional conjectures in the reading of the inscription (e.g. [sipas ra]ft, p. 12, l. 1) might be possible and an intriguing lacuna remains in the interpretation of a few lines where all letters seem to be readable (slabs 28–31),<sup>1</sup> I shall confine myself to a few random remarks and to correcting some unimportant misprints:

p. 3, l. 17: why has the author read and transcribed (from the Arabic) '*amalu muhammadin (i)bni ɻusainin (i)bni mubārakin* instead of the usual *muhammadī 'bni ɻusainī 'bni mubārakin*'?

p. 4, l. 27, and passim: the author writes the arabicized form *ivān*, as, indeed, most scholars do, but *aivān* would be more exact, as this corresponds to the actual Persian pronunciation firmly supported by the Iranian etymology of the word (cf. Bailey, BSOS, 6 [1930–32], p. 593) and the Iranian origin of the architectural element it generally denotes when used technically;

<sup>1</sup> For additional treatment of the textual parts cf. p. 113.

- p. 5, n. 3, and p. 31, l. 21: *avurd*, should be *āvurd*;
- p. 11, second line of the text: *dāda ast*, for *dāda [ast]*; the auxiliary, although necessary for the metre, is not written (slab 4);
- p. 27, l. 8: (fig. 129, no. 26b), should be (fig. 129, no. 20b);
- p. 31, l. 1: "the body of an elephant and the strength of a lion", this is one of the usual tropes and has not necessarily, I think, any connection with the actual physical constitution of the king;
- p. 31, l. 23: the transcription of the *bait* (in the metre *munsarih-i muraf-fal*) has come in some disorder; read *khāzin-i ū* and *rāstkārī-yi jān-rā!*
- p. 33, l. 23: "most likely", should be "more likely";
- p. 33, n. 4: the last edition of the *divān* of Sanā'i is the huge volume published by Mudarris-i Rađavī in Teheran 1341; the preface of this edition contains a very comprehensive exposition of the life, work and circumstances of Sanā'i (pp. L'-QM'); the *Kār-nāmah-yi Balx* dedicated by Sanā'i to Mas'ūd III is not quite a small poem; it consists of 497 *bait* (according to Radavī) and has been published by this same Radavī in the journal *Farhang-i Irān-zamīn*, 1334, III, p. 297–366, and by Ğulām-i Jilāni Jalāli in the rare Afghanistan print *Majmū'ah-yi čahār kitāb-i nāyāb: 'Išq-nāmah, 'Aql-nāmah, Bahrām u Bihrūz, Kār-nāmah-yi Balx az munšā'āt-i Sanā'i-yi Ğaznavī*, Ghaznain 1332; the booklet entitled *Kār-nāmah-yi Balx-i 'ārif-i rabbānī Hakim Sanā'i-yi Ğaznavī* published in Shiraz 1318, however, does not contain this *maṭnavī* but collections of verses in the *xājī* metre resembling the later works of Sanā'i (in fact scattered *abyāt* from his *Hadiqat ul-haqīqah* are found inserted in the text);
- p. 35, n. 9: "Mas'ūd III's", should be "Mas'ūd I's"; "p. 67", should be "p. 27".

*Bo Utas*

EYÜP ASIM KÖMÜRCÜOĞLU, *Das alttürkische Wohnhaus*. Wiesbaden 1966. Kommissionsverlag Otto Harrassowitz. (Gedruckt vom Deutschen Archäologischen Institut in Istanbul.) 61 S.

Unser Schrifttum über türkische Baukunst war bisher vornehmlich dem Monumentalbau gewidmet, während das osmanische Wohnhaus, das in seinen wechselnden Gestaltungen und Spielarten eine reizvolle und sogar für den Laien unverkennbare Eigenart bewahrt hat, leider noch nicht Gegenstand einer gründlichen Studie geworden ist. Eine Reihe örtlich begrenzter Teiluntersuchungen liegt allerdings vor, wovon dem Rez. zwei Arbeiten näher bekannt sind: MAHMUT AKOK, Ankara'nın eski evleri, Ankara 1951, wo einige ältere Wohnhäuser mit dazugehörigen Gegenständen (aus den Sammlungen des Etnografya Müzesi) in Text und Bild geschildert werden, und die ähnlich gestaltete Habilitationsarbeit CELILE BERKS, Konya evleri, Istanbul 1951. Die letztgenannte Studie emaniert von der Architekturfakultät der Technischen Universität in Istanbul, die in den letzten Jahren die osmanische „*bina bilgisi*“ um mehrere einschlägige Untersuchungen über Profanarchi-

tekur — z. B. G. ÖZDES, Türk çarşları, Istanbul 1953, und K. A. ARU, Türk hamamları etüdü, Istanbul 1949 — bereichert hat. Die jetzt in deutscher Sprache vorliegende Pionierarbeit des Stambuler Architekturprofessors E. A. KÖMÜRCÜOĞLU über das osmanische (oder — mit dem unglücklich gewählten Terminus des Titels — „alttürkische“) Wohnhaus ist zwar eine Art Zusammenfassung derartiger Teilstudien (obwohl AKOKS Buch merkwürdigerweise nicht einmal im Schrifttumverzeichnis erwähnt wird), beansprucht jedoch keine Vollständigkeit. Mit seiner raschen und schematisierenden, jedoch offenbar auf solidem Fachwissen fundierten Darstellung der Entstehung und Entwicklung der Haustypen dient das Buch eher als eine behende erste Einführung in diesen wenig beachteten Sektor der osmanischen Kulturgeschichte.

Der Verfasser geht von der Feststellung aus, dass die von ihm behandelten Haupttypen des anatolischen Hauses noch aus vortürkischer Zeit stammen und erst durch ihre Einrichtung zu der eigenartigen Schöpfung geworden sind, die „sich nur dort findet, wo heute noch Türken wohnen oder einmal türkischer Einfluss vorhanden war“ (S. 4). Anschaulich wird darauf hingewiesen, wie Kultur, Religion und vor allem die klimatischen Verhältnisse die Gestaltung des Hauses beeinflusst haben — so hat z. B. das im grössten Teil des Landes überwältigende Problem des heftigen Wechsels zwischen Hitze und Kälte, das ja grundverschiedene Bauweisen erfordert, in dem „kombinierten“ *yazlık*- und *kışlık*-Haus eine zweckmässige Lösung gefunden: oben die luftige, leichte Sommerwohnung, im Mittelgeschoss dagegen die Winterwohnung mit dicken Mauern und kleinen Fenstern. Ausführlich und mit instruktiven Grundrissbeispielen schildert der Verfasser die Entstehung der offenen Diele (*hayat*) aus dem primitiven Einzimmerhaus und ihre Weiterentwicklung zur Innendiele (*sofa*) der letzten Jahrhunderte. Es folgen Abschnitte über Methoden der religiös bedingten Aufteilung des Hauses in *harem* und *selamlık*, die Gestaltung des *avlu*, die zentrale Bedeutung des *hayat* für das Familienleben sowie die kulturelle Rolle des *divanhane*, d. h. des dem Hausherrn als Empfangsraum dienenden und zugleich grössten und wertvollsten Zimmers. Ein Kapitel über Baumaterial und Konstruktionsweisen gibt u. a. darüber Auskunft, dass für Wohnhäuser nur örtliche Materialien verarbeitet wurden (d. h. Lehm und Stein im vegetationsarmen Mittelanatolien mit seinen Temperaturgegensätzen, Holz dagegen in den bewaldeten Küstengebieten mit ihrem milden Klima), und dass wertvolleres Material wie Werkstein und Ziegel ausschliesslich bei öffentlichen Bauten Verwendung fanden. Zum Schluss formuliert der Verfasser, der langjährige praktische Erfahrung von städtebaulicher Arbeit in seinem Heimatland besitzt, einige kernvolle programmatische Richtlinien für die türkische Architektur der Zukunft. Auch diese Thesen stehen in vollem Einklang mit dem durchgehenden, in jedem Kapitel ertönenden Loblied auf „das funktionell und konstruktiv durchdachte türkische Haus in seiner Klarheit und Sachlichkeit“ (S. 11).

Dieses Heft, das auf wenigen Seiten eine Vielfalt von Material zur Landeskunde bietet und jede Phase der Darstellung durch aufschlussreiche Illustra-

tionen veranschaulicht, kann jedem an der alten und neuen Türkei Interessierten empfohlen werden. Zu begrüßen ist nicht zuletzt, dass die türkischen *termini technici* für architektonische Einzelheiten meist angegeben werden. Wenn also die Arbeit an sich von Sachkenntnis und Fähigkeit zum Überblick zeugt, wird jedoch der Gesamteindruck durch eine Reihe von Druckfehlern u. ä. erheblich beeinträchtigt. So steht z. B. *gusulhane* abwechselnd mit *gusühlhane*, *dizçökme* statt *dizçökme* (S. 7), *Kikma* statt *cıkma* (S. 28), von den zahlreichen Abtrennungsfehlern ganz zu schweigen.

Lars Johanson

RICHARD F. KREUTEL, *Osmanisch-Türkische Chrestomathie*. Wiesbaden 1965. Otto Harrassowitz. xxii, 284 S. (Porta Linguarum Orientalium, Neue Serie VII.)

Eine Chrestomathie, die dazu geeignet wäre, dem Anfänger den Zugang zu der osmanischen Literatur zu erleichtern, geschweige denn einen erfolgreichen Selbstunterricht zu ermöglichen, fehlte uns bisher ganz. Im Werden befindet sich zwar FAHIR İZ' grosszügig angelegte Hilfsbücherreihe („Eski Türk Edebiyatında Nazım“ und „Eski Türk Edebiyatında Nesir“, von denen je ein Band erschienen ist); seit MORIZ WINCKERHAUSER, Wegweiser zum Verständnis der Türkischen Sprache, Wien 1853, und CHARLES WELLS, The Literature of the Turks, A Turkish Chrestomathy, London 1891, die wohl beide als etwas veraltet gelten dürften, ist jedoch in einer der grossen europäischen Sprachen kein entsprechendes Hilfsmittel erschienen. So unerlässlich es scheint, dass gerade ein Elementarbuch dieser Art von einem Fachmann ersten Ranges geschaffen wird, so verständlich ist es auch, wenn unsere wenigen Osmanisten für eine solche rein pädagogische Aufgabe äusserst schwer Zeit finden. Umso erfreulicher ist es, dass derjenige, der die bedauerliche Lücke nun endlich ausgefüllt hat, ein Orientalist von hervorragenden philologischen und pädagogischen Fähigkeiten ist: Richard F. Kreutel, der gelehrte österreichische Botschafter in Kabul.

Die vorliegende auch in technischer Hinsicht sehr gepflegt gestaltete Chrestomathie umfasst neben dem eigentlichen Textteil im unvokalisierten arabischen Typendruck (75 Seiten) einen überaus detaillierten deutschen Kommentar (90 S.) und ein gut ausgearbeitetes Vokabular (100 S.), das auch die Umschrift der osmanischen Stichwörter angibt. Der Lesestoff gliedert sich in vielfach unterteilte, den verschiedenen Literaturgattungen entsprechende Abschnitte, von denen der erste ganz und gar KÚNOS' bekannten Sammlungen von Volksliteratur entnommen ist und einige Naşreddin Höga-Geschichten, *ma'nî*-Lieder (treffend mit den süddeutschen „Schnadähüpfeln“ verglichen), Märchen und eine Kostprobe aus einem *orta oyunu* bietet. Unter dem Titel „Erzählendes Schrifttum“ folgt dann, nach einigen Abschnitten aus dem *Tütü-nâme*, die erste eigentliche Überraschung. Während sich türkische Gelehrte darüber streiten, ob nun Şemseddin Sâmi, Ahmed Midhat oder etwa Hasan Tevfîq den ersten türkischen Roman ver-

fasste (den jüngsten Beitrag zur Frage leistet H. DİZDAROĞLU in *Türk Dili XVI*: 187 (1967) S. 487 ff.), setzt KREUTEL für „den ersten bisher bekannten autobiographischen Roman der osman. Literatur“ das Entstehungsjahr 1724 an. Es handelt sich um die noch unedierte, aber durch KREUTELS und O. SPIES' Übersetzungen bereits bekannte Lebensgeschichte des Dolmetschers 'Osmān Ağa, des „türkischen Simplizissimus“ (geb. 1671), woraus zwei in köstlicher Sprache geschilderte, auf österreichischem Boden spielende Abenteuer wiedergegeben werden. Wohl weniger originell ist die Wahl der übrigen „Romane“: ein paar „Münchhausiaden“ aus Evliyā Čelebis *Seyâhat-nâme*, ein schönes Stück aus Mu'allim Nâğıls 'Ömeriň eoğuqlugu und einige Seiten aus Hüseyin Rahmîs *Şıpsevdi*.

In scharfem Gegensatz zu der schlchten und lebendigen Sprache der bisherigen Lesestücke steht selbstverständlich die gezierte Prosa der Abteilung „Epistolographie und Publizistik“. Wieder ist die Wahl sehr geschickt getroffen: der interessante Geheimerlass Bâyezîd des Wetterstrahls über Murâds I. Tod auf dem Amselfelde, ein Brief des Grossvesirs Qara Muştafa Paşa aus dem Feldlager vor Wien 1683 (vgl. KREUTELS früher veröffentlichte kommentierte Übersetzung von Qara Muştafas Tagebuch), einige Meldungen aus der ersten türkischen Zeitung, *Tagvîm-i Veqâyi*, und schliesslich je ein tagespublizistischer Beitrag von Nâmîq Kemâl und İbrâhim Şinâsi, d. h. lauter für den einzelnen Studenten sonst ziemlich schwer zu beschaffende Texte. An „gelehrtem Schrifttum“ wird neben vielem anderen auch ein kurzes Stück aus F. v. KRAELITZ-GREIFENHORSTS Textedition des *Kânunnâme Sultan Mehmeds des Eroberers* geboten. Nicht unerwartet ist die Abteilung „Geschichte“ mit 19 Seiten die umfangreichste. Vertreten sind hier u. a. Şolaq-zâde, Neşri, İbrâhim-i Peçuyî, Na'imâ, Râşîd und Ahîmed Ğevdet. Als ältestes Beispiel volkstümlicher Geschichtsschreibung ist, mit beibehaltenen orthographischen Inkonsistenzen, ein Stück aus F. GIESES „Anonymus“ in gekürzter Form wiedergegeben. Dieser Text ist, neben den Zeilen aus dem Gesetzbuch Mehmeds des Eroberers, der älteste der Chrestomathie. Der jüngste findet sich unter der Abteilung „Literaturgeschichte“ und stammt von dem erst im vergangenen Jahr verstorbenen grossen Gelehrten Fuat Köprülü: der Yûnus Emre-Abschnitt seines 1919 erschienenen Buches *Türk Edebîyatında İlk Mutâsavvîflar*.

Wer mit KREUTELS mustergültigen kommentierten Übersetzungen osmanischer Geschichtsschreiber vertraut ist, wird gewiss auch hier aufschlussreiche Sachkommentare zu den historischen Texten erwarten. Bei den zahlreichen Lesestücken, deren Inhalt an den Balkan und an Österreich anknüpft, und wo der Kommentator seinen Stoff in souveräner Weise beherrscht, sind seine Erläuterungen natürlich von ganz besonderem Wert, nicht zuletzt die exakten Angaben von Personen- und Ortsnamen nicht-türkischer Herkunft (so schreibt er, wie oben gesehen, statt etwa *Pečevî*, dessen -evî nie leicht zu erklären war, *Peçuyî*, d. h. von der kroatischen Namensform *Pećuj* 'Fünfkirchen' ausgehend) und einige verstreute Notizen zur phonetischen Entwicklung slavischen Lehngutes. Der Balkan ist auch der Schauplatz des einzigen hier vertretenen Dramas, des pathetischen

Stückes *Vaṭan yāḥod Silistire* von Nāmiq Kemäl. Sogar die Abteilung „Dichtung“ weist eine gewisse „Lokalfarbe“ in demselben Sinne auf: von dem Qādī und Heeresrichter Ahmet Neyli Efendi ist das Gedicht abgedruckt, das auf dem vom Stambuler Tor in Belgrad stammenden und heute im Lodon-Park bei Wien aufgestellten Inschriftenstein zu lesen ist. Im übrigen sind bloss sechs Dichter durch je ein kurzes Gedicht vertreten: aus dem 16. Jh. Bāqī, aus dem 17. Jh. Nef'i und Čevrī, aus dem 18. Jh. Nedim, aus dem 19. Jh. der Erzerumlu Emrāh und schliesslich aus dem Beginn unseres eigenen Jahrhunderts Mehmed Emin. Wie der für Poesie zugemessene Rahmen überhaupt reichlich knapp erscheint, so hätte man hier vielleicht auch gern einige Zeilen der in der alten Schrift kaum mehr aufzutreibenden Meisterwerke Ahmet Hāsim und Yahya Kemäls gesehen. Ganz allgemein dürfte es aber eher als ein Vorteil anzusehen sein, wenn in einer Arbeit dieser Art das Interessengebiet *de préférence* des Kompilators den Schwerpunkt bildet und der Auswahl somit eine starke persönliche Farbe verleiht. Übrigens erlauben die komprimierten, aber sehr informativen Erläuterungen zur Metrik und Prosodie (denen jedoch eine gesammelte Darstellung von Versmassen, Reimregeln usw. leider fehlt) dem Studenten, seine poetische Lektüre auf eigene Faust fortzusetzen.

Die gleiche Sorgfalt kennzeichnet die rein sprachlichen Kommentare, die von einem erstaunlich sicheren Gefühl für die Schwierigkeiten des Anfängers zeugen, und die bei ihren fortlaufenden Verweisen auf KISSLINGs Grammatik offenbar nicht einmal grundlegende Kenntnisse der modernen Sprache voraus setzen. Nur wären hinsichtlich älterer Funktionen gewisser Verbformen (denen auch die Darstellungen der erwähnten Grammatik nicht immer gerecht werden) eingehendere Ausführungen gelegentlich wünschenswert gewesen. Der Gebrauch des Aorists im kursiven Sinne (z. B. *gözedürdi*, S. 56) scheint unkommentiert zu bleiben, während weitaus trivialere Erscheinungen oft wiederholt besprochen werden. Die Prinzipien der Umschrift, die in einer Einleitung dargelegt sind, richten sich nach dem vernünftigen Kompromiss: Transliteration der Konsonanten und Wiedergabe der Vokale durch ihre modernen Äquivalente. Nach Flüchtigkeitsfehlern sucht man in diesem gewissenhaft zusammengestellten Buch eigentlich vergeblich, den Errata könnten jedoch noch ein paar hinzugefügt werden. Korrekt: *gānī* (S. 209), *čär-pāre* (S. 211), *qṭ'a* (S. 251) und möglicherweise — im Namen der Konsequenz — *Yūnus* (S. VIII). Das Wort *baroqya* kann ich im Glossar nicht finden. Das imposante Mass von Information in den wenigen Seiten des Vocabulars und des Kommentars ist einem radikalen Abkürzungssystem zu verdanken, das allerdings hie und da ein reichlich kryptisch anmutendes Schriftbild ergibt. Die geringe Geduld, die die Entschlüsselung gewisser solcher Sequenzen erfordert, wird jeder Benutzer leicht aufbringen können: hier steht dafür ein ausserordentlich praktisches Handbuch zur Verfügung, das dem mit Sprache, Stil und Stoff noch nicht Vertrauten eine wirksame Hilfe bietet, ihm den Weg auch durch ganz schwierige Texte ebnet und zahlreiche Anregungen zur weiteren Lektüre enthält.

*Lars Johanson*

HENRIK S. NYBERG, *A Manual of Pahlavi*. I. Texts, Alphabets, Index, Paradigms, Notes and an Introduction. Wiesbaden 1964. Otto Harrassowitz. xxiv + 205 S.

Der um das Pahlavi-Studium hochverdiente Verfasser gibt uns hier die zweite Auflage des 1928 erschienenen „Hilfsbuch“ I. Es handelt sich hier nicht nur um eine wissenschaftliche Leistung hohen Ranges, sondern auch um ein kalligraphisches Kunstwerk. Ein zweiter Teil, für den schon das Material gesammelt ist, wird ein Glossar und einen Abriss der Pahlavi-Grammatik bringen. Der jetzt vorliegende Teil enthält eine vortreffliche Auswahl von Texten in sog. Buchpahlavi (S. 1–121), die vom Verf. schon in der Festschrift A. Christensen herausgegebene Hāggīābād-Inschrift in beiden Versionen (S. 122–123), einige weitere Inschriften (S. 124–127) sowie Psalm 128 aus dem berühmten Pahlavi-Psalter (S. 128), vgl. Hilfsbuch II, S. xi und Nyberg, Pehlevistudiets historia i Europa, Annales Academiae Regiae Scientiarum Upsaliensis 1/1957, S. 110. Dann folgen die notwendige Schriftlehre (S. 129–136) und ein Pahlavi-Index (S. 137–172) nebst Zahlwörtern (S. 173–174). An grammatischem Stoff teilt der Verf. u. a. sechs Verbalparadigmen mit (S. 175–179). Textkritische Anmerkungen zu den Stücken in Buchpahlavi (S. 181–204) beschliessen diesen Teil des Werkes. In der „Introduction“ (S. ix–xxiv) finden sich u. a. Angaben über Ausgaben und Handschriften der aufgenommenen Texte.

Mit einer iranistischen Besprechung des wertvollen Buches wird man wohl am besten warten, bis der zweite Teil erschienen ist. Hier seien nur einige vereinzelte Bemerkungen über die sog. Ideogramme gemacht, die im Pahlavi eine so grosse Rolle spielen, und von denen der Pahlavi-Index (S. 137–172) eine grosse Menge enthält (mit Ableitungen etwa 300). Im Hilfsbuch waren diese vom Standpunkt des Aramäischen aus interpretiert, und zwar meistens im Anschluss an den Aufsatz „The Pahlavi Documents from Avromān“ (Le Monde Oriental = MO 17/1923, S. 182 ff.). Im „Manual“ wird hingegen auf solche Interpretationen vollständig verzichtet, und jedesmal erscheint nur das Konsonantengerippe; wo im Hilfsbuch z. B. ein zunächst altsyrisches *sāgētōn-tn* erschien, findet man also jetzt nur ein *SGYTN-tn* usw. (vgl. unten). Auch sonst fällt im neuen Hilfsbuch kein Wort mehr darüber, wie sich der Verf. heute zu diesem Material verhält. Und doch, gerade der Anfänger, auf den ja ein Handbuch im allgemeinen abgestellt ist, muss sich fragen, wie er sich ein derartiges Nebeneinander von *'BYDWN-yt = kunēt*, *YDLWN-yt = barēt*, *YK'YMWN-yt = ēstēt*, *SGYTN-t = raft*, *'ZLWN-yt = šavēt*, *YHWWN-yt = bavēt* usw. eigentlich vorzustellen habe, vgl. BENVENISTE, BSL 59/1964 fasc. 2, S. 61. Unten werden wir uns daher auf die Verbalideogramme beschränken.

Über die wahre Natur der mitteliranischen Verballogramme wird in der Tat heute noch gestritten. Dabei geht es sowohl um historische als auch um linguistische Probleme. Die historischen Probleme beziehen sich u. a. auf die Anfänge dieser allographischen Schriftform überhaupt. Hieran schliesst sich die Frage nach dem Verhältnis der verschiedenen ideographischen Schrift-

systeme zu einander. Auf diesem Forschungsgebiet stehen einander hauptsächlich zwei Auffassungen oder Hypothesen gegenüber, die wir kurz als die „reichsaramäische Hypothese“ und die „sasanidische Hypothese“ (F. ALTHEIM) bezeichnen möchten. Mit diesem Problemkomplex hängt auch die linguistische Problematik aufs engste zusammen. Mehrere Probleme kommen hier in Betracht. So erhebt sich z. B. die Frage, inwieweit wir dazu berechtigt sind, in dem Aramäisch der Ideogramme die Reflexe eines einst lebendigen, zu einem bestimmten Dialekt gehörigen Sprachgebrauchs zu sehen. Sodann die weitere Frage, welche grammatischen Formen es gewesen sind, die den sog. Ideogrammen ursprünglich zugrunde gelegen haben. Diese letztgenannte Frage betrifft bekanntlich vor allem die Verba, und hier steht von Anfang an z. B. die Imperativhypothese der Perfekthypothese gegenüber.

In seiner Abhandlung „Mittelpersisch“, S. 251 hatte C. SALEMANN das Studium der aramäischen Ideogramme ausdrücklich der semitischen Philologie überlassen, „da die im ‘Uzvārišn’ erhaltene Sprachform einem noch nicht näher bestimmbareren aramäischen Dialekte angehört“. (Grundriss der iranischen Philologie I: 1/1895–1901). Man kann hier von einer weisen Zurückhaltung reden, denn ein Graphem wie *RMYTWN* galt dem grossen Iranisten als ein aram. Perfekt der 3. P. Pl. (a. a. O. § 7b). Bei einem Studium der Verbalideogramme empfiehlt es sich, von einem Allogramm auszugehen, das in der Diskussion eine grosse Rolle gespielt hat: *HZYTWN-tn* = *ditan, rēn-*. Dabei tun wir gut daran, uns die folgenden Worte W. B. HENNINGS zu vergegenwärtigen: „Das Hauptergebnis der Untersuchung der von aramäischen ‘schwachen’ Verbalstämmen abgeleiteten Formen ist die Erkenntnis, wie weitgehende Veränderungen die ursprünglichen Ideogramme erst unter den Händen iranischer Schreibergenerationen in jahrhundertelanger Entwicklung erlitten haben, und wie verkehrt es daher ist, späte Schriftformen ohne die nötigen Abstriche dem Aramäischen zuzuschreiben.“ (Handbuch der Orientalistik 4: 1/1958, S. 35–36.) Bei dem Versuch, die von Salemann gesuchte dialektale Zugehörigkeit der Ideogramme festzustellen, hat man sich nämlich nicht nur auf das sog. Reichsaramäische, sondern auch auf das Mandäische gestützt. So hat sich NYBERG hierzu sogar in der folgenden emphatischen Weise geäussert: „There can, however, be no doubt that the Aramaic of the Sasanian ideograms is closer akin to Mandaic than to any other Aramaic dialect.“ (MO 17, S. 217 N. 2.) Aber auch auf das Altsyrische hat man sich berufen. Nach dem Vorgang F. C. ANDREAS' suchte NYBERG eben das oben erwähnte *HZYTWN-tn* als ein aram. *ḥazētton* < \**ḥazēntōn* < \**ḥazēn* 'attōn „you are seeing“ zu verstehen (MO 17, S. 225), eine Deutung, die zwar von H. H. SCHÄDER abgelehnt wurde (Iranische Beiträge, 1930, S. 40), die aber von F. ALTHEIM und R. STIEHL besonders warm empfohlen wird (Die aramäische Sprache unter den Achaimeniden, Lief. 3/1963, S. 297), obwohl NYBERG selbst schon 1937 seine Erklärung zurückgezogen hat (MO 31, S. 72 N. 2). Statt des noch im Hilfsbuch I, S. 22 und II, S. 57.296 aufgeführten *HZYTWN* = *ḥazētton* erscheint nun im „Manual“, S. 139a ein *HZYTIN-tn*, und zwar mit der folgenden Begrün-

dung: „In the ideograms derived from the *verba tertiae infirmae* the ending -YTN, always found in the inscriptions and the Psalter, and very often in the MSS, has throughout been preferred to -YTWN, which is a recent innovation of the scribes, and then taught as normal in the Frahang.“ (Manual, S. x.)

Ein heterographisches *HZYTН-tn* lässt sich nun kaum aus dem Aramäischen restlos erklären. In der Tat behält das vom Frahang gebotene Graphem *HZYTWN-tn* für uns seinen Wert, wenn es gilt, die Richtung zu studieren, die der graphische Ausgleich hier genommen hat, vgl. SCHÄDER, Iranische Beiträge, S. 40. Denn dieses *HZYTWN-tn* muss, um mit HENNING zu reden, „zwiebelhaft ausgewickelt“ werden (Handbuch der Orientalistik 4:1, S. 36). Es handelt sich hier zunächst um eine Art graphischer Analogie nach dem Ideogrammtypus auf -WN-tn, der in den Typen *YKTLWN-tn* = *ōzatan* (Manual, S. 152b), und *NPLWN-stn* = *ōpastan* (Manual, S. 157a) zum Vorschein kommt. Die Voraussetzung für diese Kontamination bildet in unserem Fall das ursprüngliche Heterogramm *HZY-*, das (später) um das iranische Komplement -t erweitert worden ist. Dieses -t ist dann fälschlich zur „Wurzel“ gezogen worden, wobei sich die neue ideographische Einheit *HZYT-* ergab. Diese ist später dem Typus auf -WN-tn angeglichen worden: *HZYTWN-tn*. Die Inschriften bewahren noch das ursprünglichere *ŠDY-t-n* (so wäre ‘etymologisch’ zu schreiben).

Das eigentliche Problem steckt nun in dem, was HENNING als das „Urideo gramm“ *HZY* bezeichnet (Handbuch der Orientalistik 4:1, S. 36). Wie lässt sich zunächst der Terminus „Urideo gramm“ hier begreifen? Schon die Proportion *HZY-t : ditan = X : dit* ergibt ein X = *HZY-t*, einen Typus, den wir aus den Inschriften kennen, z. B. 'MT LN ZNH HTY' *ŠDY-t* „als wir diesen Pfeil schossen“ (Hāggīābād I,5 ed. NYBERG), wo es sich auch indirekt um die iranisch beeinflusste aramäische Konstruktion *šdē lan* „wir haben geworfen“ > „wir warfen“ < „uns ist geworfen (worden)“ handelt, vgl. Rez., Das altsyrische Verbalsystem, S. 71 ff. Aus der Gleichung *LN ... ŠDY-t = amāh ... vist*, ergibt sich, dass die Hinzufügung des iran. -t, das hier kaum notwendig gewesen wäre, z. T. auf der verschiedenen Struktur der beiden Sprachen beruht. Im Aramäischen wird der possessive Agens enklitisch nachgesetzt, im Iranischen vorgesetzt, aber nicht notwendigerweise proklastisch: I. *šdē lan = amāh vist* > II. *lan šdē = amāh vist* > III. *LN ŠDY-t = amāh vist*. Solche Beispiele legen die Annahme nahe, die heterographische bzw. ideographische Schreibweise gehe jedenfalls z. T. auf eine Dissozierung von aramäischen Syntagmen zurück<sup>1</sup>. Auf die besondere Frage, ob solche Syntagmen die Niederschläge einer alten, achemenidischen Kanzleipraxis darstellen, nach der man einst aramäisch geschrieben, aber iranisch gelesen habe, kann hier nicht eingegangen werden. Aus dem Gesagten geht aber hervor, dass unser *HZY* als ein „Urideo gramm“ betrachtet u. a. ein aramäisches passives Partizip *תְּנִזֵּן* vertreten kann; mit einer Verbesserung der Nybergschen Deutung könnte man sich auch ein aktives *hāzē* + iran. *t + n*

<sup>1</sup> Vgl. z. B. einen Fall wie *BYRH* = *māh* Manual, S. 147b.

denken. Damit sind wir aber auch dazu gezwungen, auf die iranische Verbalentwicklung einen Blick zu werfen, wobei nur die Erscheinungen berücksichtigt werden, die für das Verständnis der Ideogramme von Belang sein können. Es empfieilt sich hier vom Neopersischen auszugehen.

Die neopers. aspektuelle Opposition *migereft* „il prenait“/*gereft* „il prit“ stellt eine Neubildung dar. Es handelt sich um eine sekundäre Differenzierung des Präteritums *gereft*, das an sich die beiden Funktionen  $\Gamma_2$  und  $\Gamma_{02}$  vertrat<sup>1</sup>, vgl. jedenfalls formal Pahlavi *hamē grift/grift*. Die Beurteilung der historischen Entwicklung wird hier dadurch erschwert, dass die Funktion der Partikel *be* (*bi*), Pahlavi *bē* noch nicht hinreichend klargelegt ist. In den neopers. Oppositionen *mikunäm/bekunäm*, *mikärdäm/bekärdäm* scheint *be* sich zu einem negativen Merkmal entwickelt zu haben, d. h. es kündigt in etwas redundanter Weise nur das Fehlen einer *mi*-Signalisierung an. Die Hypothese KURYŁOWICZENS, dieses *be* könne den funktionellen Vorgänger des entschieden durativischen *hamē*, *mi* darstellen, scheint uns u. a. auf Grund der Funktionen des *bē* im Pahlavi sogar unannehmbar zu sein (Rocznik Orientalistyczny 16/1950–53, S. 541 f.). Im Hinblick auf die Tatsache, dass im Altiranischen *abarat* gegenüber der aspektuellen Opposition  $B_2/\Gamma_2$  neutral gewesen ist, indem die Aspekte hier durch den Sprechakt als solchen zum Ausdruck kamen, sind wir dazu geneigt, für das ältere Mitteliranisch mit einem Sprachzustand zu rechnen, wo sich *kart*, *grift*, *guft* usw. etwa wie *abarat* verhalten haben<sup>2</sup>. War damals *bē* ein positives Merkmal, so dass z. B. *bē guft* den Aspektstellenwert  $\Gamma_2$  besonders unterstrich, erhielt das einfache *guft* von selbst einen „nonperfektiven“ bzw. nonpunktuellen Wert, was ja auch  $B_2$  bedeuten konnte. Es ist aber, wie es scheint, hier nie zu einem durchgeführten System gekommen, und wenn schon im jüngeren Pahlavi *hamē kart* ein *faciebat* auszudrücken kam, hatte dies auch für die Stellung des *bē* innerhalb des Verbalsystems seine Konsequenzen. Die besondere Frage, ob wir zwischen *abarat* und (*hamē*)*kart*, (*bē*)*kart* einen Sprachzustand zu interkalieren haben, wo der kursive Aspekt mittels des Typus  $x^v arēt < *x^v arayat(i)$  erneuert worden war, braucht uns hier nicht zu beschäftigen. Nur sei darauf hingewiesen, dass es sich hier keineswegs um Kausativ-Endungen handelt, sondern um Iterativbildungen auf -aya-, anders MO 17, S. 224–225, vgl. Rez., Die Sprache 12/1966, S. 136 ff.<sup>3</sup>

Da nun das Simplex *gereft* in der kontextuell bedingten Funktion  $\Gamma_{02}$  auch den Sinn von „il a pris“ annehmen konnte, lag ein Sprachzustand vor, bei dem das Perfekt nur durch den Sprechakt (la parole) einen Ausdruck fand, wie wir dies u. a. aus dem Gotischen kennen (*nimiþ : nam*). Das Neopersische hat aber die perfektische Funktion mittels einer periphrastischen Wendung, *gereftāh äst*, wieder grammatisiert, wodurch der formale Zusammenfall von Präteritum und Perfekt beseitigt worden ist. Schon aus strukturellen

<sup>1</sup> Wir sehen hier von dem älteren Ausdruck für den kursiven Aspekt gänzlich ab.

<sup>2</sup> Vgl. Rez., Das altsyrische Verbalsystem, S. 54.

<sup>3</sup> Vgl. auch Symbolae philologicae O. A. Danielsson octogenario dicatae (1932), S. 239.

Gründen lässt sich dieselbe Entwicklung auch für *gereft* annehmen, d. h. „nahm“ < „hat genommen“, vgl. Rez., *Das altsyrische Verbalsystem*, S. 74; *Orientalia Suecana* 14–15/1966, S. 66. Die weitere Frage, was für eine Form *gereft* bzw. *grift* ersetzt hat, möchten wir — mit der oben gegebenen Reservation (*-aya-* usw.) — in der folgenden Weise beantworten: das alte synthetische Präteritum. Im Altpersischen bestand eine temporale Opposition Präsens/Präteritum, während das alte Perfekt aufgegeben war. Der einst aspektuelle Unterschied zwischen dem sog. Imperfekt und dem hier nur spärlich belegten Aorist scheint vollständig aufgegeben zu sein, d. h. die ehemaligen Aspektstämme sind lexikalisiert worden. Aus dem Parallelismus zwischen *tya manā k(a)rtam* (Dareios Behistun 4,1 f.) und *tya adam akunavam* (4,3 f.) ersehen wir, dass der Typus *akunauš* sowohl  $\Gamma_2$  als auch  $\Gamma_{02}$  bezeichnen konnte, eine Entwicklung, die dadurch ermöglicht worden war, dass *akunauš* sich zu einem völlig neutralen Präteritum entwickelt hatte. Der Aspekt wurde durch den Sprechakt als solchen zum Ausdruck gebracht. Da also *akunavam* in der kontextuell bedingten Funktion  $\Gamma_{02}$  auch den Sinn eines „ich habe gemacht“ annehmen konnte, ist wohl der periphrastische, possessive Typus *manā k(a)rtam* erst in diese Funktionszone eingedrungen, zunächst in der Umgangssprache, dann auch in der Schriftsprache (*Orientalia Suecana* 14–15, S. 64); nach BENVENISTE hat *manā k(a)rtam* den Aorist nur in gewissen Formen ersetzt (BSL 47/1951, S. 51). Schliesslich hat die periphrastische Wendung auch die Funktion  $\Gamma_2$  übernommen, wodurch das alte Präteritum entgültig beseitigt war. Innerhalb der temporalen Opposition *kunēt/kart* des Mitteliranischen versah nunmehr auch *kart* sowohl  $B_2$  — als auch  $\Gamma$ -Funktionen<sup>1</sup>. Bei einem derartigen Sprachzustand, wo die Aspekte durch den Sprechakt zum Ausdruck gebracht werden, bilden sich allmählich formale Mittel, mit denen die Kategorie des Aspekts wieder mehr oder weniger deutlich grammatisiert werden kann. Dem neugebildeten Präteritum *migereft* ( $B_2$ ) entspricht formal das Präsens *migirād* =  $B_1$  und  $B_{01}$  (=  $\Gamma$ ). Demgegenüber hat das einfache *girād* nur  $\Gamma$ -Funktionen, vgl. besonders einen Konditionalsatz wie den folgenden: *čū del ba xudayāst, be xālvāt nešini* „wenn dein Herz bei Gott ist, sitzest du in der Einsamkeit“.

Wir kehren hiernach zum Typus *HZY-tn* zurück. Für den ursprünglich passiven Charakter des *HZY-* sprechen nicht nur die oben angedeutete Entwicklung der iranischen Verbalsysteme sondern auch andere Umstände. Es darf zunächst die Tatsache nicht übersehen werden, dass auch das Reichsaramäische vom Iranischen her beeinflusst war, wobei eben auf den Typus **תָּבִיבַתְּ** hinzuweisen bleibt; auch die sekundäre, aus dem Biblisch-Aramäischen bekannte Stammform *pɔ'il* ist vielleicht iranischem Einfluss zu verdanken. In diesem Zusammenhang sei auch der Ideogrammtypus *LY = man* usw. in Erinnerung gebracht, der eben auf den Typus *manā k(a)rtam* abgestellt zu sein scheint. Hier kommt schliesslich der schon erwähnte Typus *YKTLWN-tn = őzatan* in Betracht. Fragen wir nämlich, warum diese Form eben in der 3. P. Pl. des sog. Imperfekts erscheint, so dürfen wir nicht vergessen, dass

<sup>1</sup> D. h. vom Standpunkt des Sprechakts aus.

es zwischen einem *yiqṣlūn* „sie töten“ und einem *qṣīl* „(ist) getötet“ ein gemeinsames Moment besteht. Denn „sie töten“ kann auch ein unpersönliches „man tötet“ besagen, das auch passivisch verstanden werden kann. Um so leichter könnte daher eine Kontamination des *qṣīl*-Typus mit dem *yiqṣlūn*-Typus zustande gekommen sein, z. B. *HZY-tn + YKTLWN-tn > HZY-t-WN-tn*. Ein in diesem Zusammenhang bemerkenswertes Ideogramm ist *HYTYWN-tn = ḥnītan* (Manual, S. 139b), besonders im Vergleich mit *YHYTYWN-tn = āvurtan* (Manual, S. 149a, JUNKER, Das Frahang i Pahlavik, 1955, S. 6). Wenn wir *HYTYWN*- mit Häggīābād *HQ' YMW-t = avistāt* I,7.12, *HQ' YMW-d = avistēnd* I,12 auf der einen Seite und mit *HNHTWN = nihāt* II,7.13 auf der anderen vergleichen, ergibt sich als Ideogrammbase ein unpersönliches \**HYTYW-*(= bibl. aram. הַתְּרִיכָה) = *ōnīt*. Vergleichen wir dann z. B. Häggīābād *RMY-t = afkand* I,7 mit *LMYTN = afkand, afkanēt* II,8.15., sehen wir, dass in *LMYTN* das iranische Komplement *-t* ideographisiert worden ist: *RMY-t = afkand > RMYT- = AFKAND- > LMYTN = AFKANDAN*. In der graphischen *Langue* wird nur die Idee des Verbums ausgedrückt, während sich die grammatische Form des Verbums aus dem Sprechakt als solchem ergibt. Wenn wir nun z. B. für *HNHTWN-tn = nihātan* (Manual, S. 140a) „den nötigen Abstrich“ machen, erhalten wir ein \**HNHTW-* = *hanhītū* (Perf.) = *nihāt* (vgl. *HQ' YMW-t = avistāt*) und *NIHĀ-TAN*, vgl. *HQ' YMW-d = avistēnd*. Demzufolge geht ein ideographisiertes iranisches *N <-n* neben demjenigen im *YKTLW + N*-Typus her, vgl. Häggīābād *YHWWN = būt* II,9.10, etwa *yīhwōn* „sie sind“ > „man ist“ > *BŪTAN*. Es darf hier auch nicht vergessen werden, dass der altaram. Ausdruck für den kursiven Aspekt *yiktab:yiktabān* schon früh aoristisiert worden ist, was einen ersten Schritt gegen die Infinitivisierung dieser Form bedeutete, vgl. das Neuarabische und das Neugriechische. Wenn wir nun in Häggīābād I,8 *NPL-t = kaft* mit *NPLWN-stn = ḥpastan* vergleichen, erhebt sich also die Frage, ob *-WN-* hier aus dem *YKTLWN*-Typus stammt oder ob *-WN-* hier auf einer Weiterentwicklung der arsakidischen *NPL-t* beruht. Wäre \**NPYL-t* geschrieben, wäre die Deutung als pass. Partizip ziemlich sicher. Vor die Wahl zwischen einem *nāfil-* und einem Perfekt *nōfal-* gestellt, möchten wir uns für die letztere Alternative entscheiden, da wohl arsakid. *HWY-* eine Sonderstellung einnimmt (vgl. aber altsyr. *hāwād* „existierend“ neben *hāwād* „seidend“). Demzufolge würde *NPL-t = kaft* zunächst auf eine isolierte Heterographie Wort für Wort *nōfal = kaft* zurückgehen (vgl. Nybergs *ZBN-t = zaban + t*, Avromān), während der Typus *NPLWN-* eine Systematisierung der heterographischen Elemente vom Standpunkt des Iranischen aus bedeuten würde. Dabei ist man von einem unpersönlichen Perf. *nōfālū* „man ist gefallen“ ausgegangen, womit das partizipiale Präteritum auf *-t* wiedergegeben werden konnte: *ḥpast*. Da nun der Infinitiv hier auf *-an* ausging, erhielt man auf diesem Weg die Entsprechung *NPLW-n = ḥpastan*, und nach Ideographisierung des iranischen Komplements zu *NPLWN-* schliesslich *NPLWN-stn*. Hingegen ist wohl ein Fall wie **هَرَبَّا** = *HYMNW-stn = virrōyistan* (Manual, S. 139b) keine Stütze für eine Vorstufe wie arsakid. *HQ' YMW-*, da es sich wohl hier nur um eine orthographische An-

gelegenheit handelt; es wird auch im Manual als ein *HYMNWN-stn* aufgefasst (vgl. jedoch **𢚤𢚥𢚤𢚦𢚤𢚦**, S. 153a).

Wir erhalten somit zwei Haupttypen, *YKTLWN-* = unpersönliches, generelles „man tötet“ oder einfach „töten“ und *NPLW-N-* = unpersönliches Perfekt „man ist gefallen“ mit einem zusätzlichen *N*, das entweder ein ideo-graphiertes iran. Komplement (Inf.) darstellt oder von *YKTLWN-* übernommen worden ist. So erklären sich wohl z. B. *YNSBWN-* = *statan* (Manual, S. 151b), *YMRRWN-*, *YMLLWN-* = *guftan* (Manual, S. 153a), *YHNSLWN-* = *appurtan* (Manual, S. 149a), *YTWN-* = *āmatan* (S. 150a) usw.; *HLMWN-* = *xuftan* (Manual, S. 143b), *HPLWN-* = *kandan* (S. 146a), *BKYWN-* = *gristan* (S. 147b) usw. Es sei für unsere Konstruktion \**NPLW-* = *ōpast* auch an den sog. verkürzten Infinitiv des Neopersischen erinnert: *xahäm guft* „ich werde sagen“. Daneben ein dritter Haupttypus: *MHY-t-* (**ܻܴܷܰܵܶ**) = *zat* > *MHYT-n* = *zatan* > *MHYTN-* = *zatan* (Manual, S. 162a). So erklären sich *ŠDYTN-* = *vistan* (Manual, S. 170a), *SGYTN-* = *raftan* (S. 164a), *LMYTN-* = *apakandan* (S. 161b) usw<sup>1</sup>.

Wie oben angedeutet, haben wir, wie es scheint, auch mit Kreuzungen zu rechnen. Die Form *YKTYBWN-* = *nipištan* (Manual, S. 152a) ist nach NYBERG als ein aram. *yiktibūn* zu verstehen, das „agrees perfectly with the Mandaic forms of the imperfects used before enclitics“ (MO 17, S. 217). Er denkt an Formen wie *nyšbyqwl'k* etwa *nišbigullāk*, aber wenn dieses Argument stichhaltig sein soll, müsste angenommen werden, man habe *-tn* als enklitisch behandelt und *yiktibūntan* gelesen, was höchst unwahrscheinlich ist, vgl. Hilfsbuch I, S. 13. Es handelt sich im Mandäischen um eine ganz sekundäre Erscheinung, die zur Erläuterung des in Frage stehenden Ideogramms kaum herangezogen werden darf. Einem iran. *nipišt* entsprach ganz gewiss ein aram. **ܻܴܷܰܵܶ**, das hier als das „Urdeogramm“ im Sinne HENNINGS zu betrachten sein dürfte, das aber später mit einem unpersönlichen \**YKTBNW-* gekreuzt worden ist. Dass dadurch eine aram. Unform wie *yiktibūn* zustande kam, spielte für die Schreiber offenbar keine Rolle, da es sich nicht mehr um eine Heterographie Wort für Wort handelte, sondern eben um ein Ideogramm, das nur die Idee des Schreibens zum Ausdruck bringen sollte. Auch für *YMYTWN-* = *murtan* (Manual, S. 153a) hatte sich NYBERG

<sup>1</sup> Ein Typus wie *MKBLWN-tn* = *patigraftan* (Manual, S. 163a) ist nach NYBERG ein aktives *məqabbel* + *ūn* (MO 17, S. 225 f.; Hilfsbuch II, S. 179.297), nach SCHÄDER aber ein passives *məqabbal* (Iranische Beiträge, S. 40). Da ein unpersönlich gedachtes *yəqabbəlūn* einem *məqabbal* = *patigraft* nahe kam, konnte das passiv-unpersönliche *MKBL* um das *-WN* sehr leicht analogisch erweitert werden, vgl. aram. *zabbīnū* „(man hat) verkauft“ = *məzabban* = *frōxt* und dann nach Analogie des Perfekts: *MZBNW* = *frōxt* u. a. „hat verkauft“, „verkauft hiermit“ (Koinzidenzfall). So kann wohl das Nebeneinander von *ZBN-t* = *xrīt* „hat gekauft“ = „kaufte hiermit“ und *ZBNW* = *xrīt* in einem Privatdokument aus dem Jahre 53 n. Chr. kaum allzuviel auffallen (vgl. Hāggīābād I, 7.12 *HQ' YMW-t* neben *NPL-t* I, 8), vgl. MO 17, S. 225 f. und Handbuch der Orientalistik 4:1, S. 30.

auf das Mandäische gestützt, indem er meinte, dass diese Form „agrees, as to the stemvowel, exactly with the Mandaic *nymytwn*“ (MO 17, S. 217). Es handelt sich in diesem Fall um einen ganz späten Übergang der Verba Mediae infirmiae in die Klasse der Verba Mediae geminatae, d. h. nach *nyrwt : nyrytwn* auch *nymvt : nymytwn*. „Gestorben“ ist nun *mit = murt*, und *mitū* auch „man ist gestorben“. Zu einem solchen *myt* haben die iran. Schreiber ihr *YMYTWN-tn* nach dem Typus *YKTLWN-* gebildet. In ähnlicher Weise möchten wir auch das intr. *YK'YMWN-tn = ēstātan* (Manual, S. 152a) als einen graphischen Ausgleich zwischen einem *qym = ēstāt* und einem unpersönlichen \**YQWMWN-* verstehen, vgl. syr. *lā qīm lī* „ich habe nicht gestanden“ und MO 17, S. 217 f.

Von den Verba Primae *y*, deren Deutung NYBERG als recht schwierig betrachtet (MO 17, S. 223), lässt sich *YLYDWN-tn = zātan* (Manual, S. 158b) wohl am besten als ein *yolid = zāt > YLYDWN- = zātan* auffassen. So konnte zu einem **בְּרַתָּן** = *nišast* auch ein *YT YBWN-stn = nišastan* (Manual, S. 153b) gebildet werden. Für *YHBWN-tn = dātan* (Manual, S. 149a) beruft sich NYBERG auf den mandäischen Imperativ *w'h'blwn*. Es soll nicht geleugnet werden, dass der Imperativ in der Sprache der „Great King's chanceries“ häufig vorkommend gewesen sein kann. Ob aber „their most common verbal form ... certainly (was) the 2nd pers. plur. of the imperative“, sei dahingestellt (MO 17, S. 225). Das Ideogramm dürfte als ein unpersönliches Perf. *yshábū + n* zu verstehen sein.

Eine besondere Besprechung verdient **דָּנִיסָטָן** = *dānistan* Manual S. 141a, das JUNKER noch als *HVYTVN-tn* liest (Das Frahang i Pahlavik, 1955, S. 11), möglicherweise auf Grund der Ausführungen in MO 17, S. 225. Im Hilfsbuch II, S. 47 und S. 296 las Nyberg *hāwēttōn*. Hiergegen wendete aber SCHÄDER ein, dass von *hw* im Altaramäischen nur Pa“il und Haf‘il, nicht aber Pa‘al bekannt seien (Iranische Beiträge, S. 40 N. 1). Nun hatte H. J. POLOTSKY schon 1932 *YD'YTWN* gelesen (Le Muséon 45, S. 281 N. 1), und in MO 31/1937, S. 72 N. 2 erschien auch ein sasanidisches Ideogramm *YD'YTN*, und zwar als eine ‘forme araméenne impossible’, für welche ein *YD'YHN* zu substituieren sei, in welchem Falle es mit einem arsakidischen *YD'H* verglichen werden könne. Im Manual, S. 141a wird trotzdem *YD'-YTWN-tn* gelesen. Nach ALTHEIM und STIEHL ist aber NYBERG mit seiner ersten Lesung *hāwēttōn* „durchaus im Recht gewesen“ (Die aramäische Sprache unter den Achaimeniden, Lief. III/1963, S. 297 N. 53). Die letztgenannten Gelehrten scheinen uns übrigens a. a. O. einen richtigen Weg eingeschlagen zu haben, wenn sie auf den Zusammenhang zwischen „wissen“ und „zeigen“ aufmerksam machen. Aram. *ḥāmā* ist „sehen“, wozu **אֲמַרָּה** wohl eine Nebenform dargestellt haben kann. Zu einem solchen *ḥāwā*, *ḥāwī* „sehen“ gehört als Kausativ *hawwī* „zeigen“, genauso wie altäth. *'ammara* „zeigen“ zu akkad. *imur* „sieht, sah“ gehört (Rez., Orientalia 32/1963, S. 181 f.). Nun bedeutet akkad. *amārum* „sehen“, aber *amir* „weiss“. Ein aram. **אֲמַרָּה** hätte demnach „weiss“ bedeuten können. Es scheint daher nicht ganz unmöglich zu sein, hier mit einem „Urideogramm“ **HWY-** (*hāwē* oder *ḥāwē*) + *t* = *dānist* zu rechnen, das wohl aber schon früh mit dem gewöhnlichen *YD'*

verwechselt werden konnte, da *hw'/h* „wissen“ im Aramäischen bald unterging: Also *HWY-tn* oder *YD'Y-tn*, je nach der Lesung.

Für die imperativische Deutung des *NPLWN*-Typus sind nun eine Reihe von Argumenten ins Feld geführt<sup>1</sup>, die uns jetzt ein wenig beschäftigen werden. Da ist zunächst '*BYDWN-tn = kartan* (Manual, S. 154a), wo '*bydwn* „undoubtedly the common Aramaic imperative“ darstellen soll (MO 17, S. 219), wofür Targum, Talmud '*bydw*, syr. '*əbed(ān)* sowie mand. '*byd*, '*b'd* angeführt werden. Wenn aber „the bulk of the Aramaic ideograms ... simply (are) taken over from Arsacid Pahlavi, which is founded on a very archaic dialect where the use of matres lectionis must have been scarce“ (MO 17, S. 222), sieht man nicht recht ein, weshalb eben ein schon von Anfang an unbedingt zu gebrauchendes Verbum wie '*bd* sein eventuelles *i* im Imperativ plene geschrieben hätte erhalten sollen. Es dürfte sich um ein **גְּרָתָה** = *kart* als „Urideogramm“ handeln, das nach dem Typus *NPLW-N-* oder dem Typus *YKTLWN* um ein *-WN-* erweitert worden ist. Ähnlich ist '*LYKWN-tn = virēxtan* (Manual, S. 156b), das NYBERG als einen Imperativ „in spite of the common Aramaic '*rwq*“ betrachtet (MO 17, S. 219), das aber wahrscheinlich auf ein **פִּירֵץ** = *virēxt* baut, das infolge einer graphischen Analogie zu '*RYQWN*; '*RYKWN*- umgestaltet wurde. Ein drittes Argument für die Imperativhypothese ist '*ZLWN-tn = šutan* (Manual, S. 156a), das durch die Schreibung mit ‘„unmistakably marked as imperative“ und als *‘azilūn* oder *‘azalūn* zu lesen sei (MO 17, S. 219f). Dieses Argument ist tragfähiger, aber aus verschiedenen Gründen dürfte es nicht unmöglich sein, mit einem aram. Perfekt *‘azal* zu rechnen. Also *‘azálū = šut > ‘azalū-n = šutan*. So kann auch '*HDWN-tn = griftan* (Manual, S. 154a) von einem aram. *‘ahádū = grift* ausgehen, vgl. '*SLWN-tn = bastan* (Manual, S. 145a) < *‘asárū = bast*<sup>2</sup>.

Die hier vorgetragene Deutung einiger Ideogrammtypen scheint uns mit der folgenden Äusserung unseres Verfassers durchaus im Einklang zu stehen: „Ju mera tiden framskred, dess mer förföll kansliernas arameiska, det arameiska ordmaterialet handhades efter iransk språkkänsla och allt flera iranska ord nästlade sig in, tills den punkt nåddes, där av arameiskan endast stelnade och grammatiskt ofta alldeles omöjliga former stodo kvar, ordnade och grupperade efter iranskt språkmönster och vid uppläsningen helt ersatta med de iranska ekvivalenterna.“ (Pehlevistudiets historia i Europa, S. 100.)

<sup>1</sup> Nach ANDREAS Perfekta *nəʃálūn* usw.; nach NYBERG geht *NPLWN-stn* auf Imperative wie *nəʃélūn*, *nəʃilūn* zurück (MO 17 S. 219.222; Hilfsbuch II, S. 166. 297).

<sup>2</sup> '*ŠTH-tn = x<sup>v</sup>artan*, '*ŠMH-tn = āšnūtan* (Manual, S. 157b) betrachten wir — nach dem Vorgang MARQUARTS (MO 17, S. 227 f.) — als passive Partizipien: etwa *‘āštē* (<*šətē/i*) bzw. *‘āšmē* (<*‘āšmī < šəmi*).

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## Contents

PETERSON, BENGT J.: Archäologische Funde aus Sesebi (Sudla) in Nord-Sudan . . . . .	3
PETERSON, BENGT J.: Fragmente aus einem Totenbuch der 18. Dynastie . . . . .	16
WÅNGSTEDT, STEN V.: Demotische Steuerquittungen nebst Texten andersartigen Inhalts . . . . .	22
MEINARDUS, OTTO: The Theological Issues of Contraception in the Coptic Church . . . . .	57
DROZDÍK, LADISLAV: Towards Defining Structural Level of Stem in Arabic . . . . .	85
SCHEIBER, ALEXANDER: Von zwei mittelalterlichen Darstellungen des Juden . . . . .	96
RUNDGREN, FRITHIOF: Turcica . . . . .	99
MONCHI-ZADEH, DAVOUD: Notes on the Kūfīc Inscription of the Royal Palace of Mas'ūd III at Ghazni . . . . .	113
JEWETT, IRAN B.: Matthew Arnold's Version of the Episode of Sohrab . . . . .	127
NYLANDER, CARL: Who Wrote the Inscriptions at Pasargadae? . . . . .	135
PARPOLA, ASKO: On the Jaiminiyaśrautasūtra and Its Annexes . . . . .	181
LIEBERT, GÖSTA: Nochmals <i>nīcaira</i> - . . . . .	215
Book Reviews . . . . .	220
Works received . . . . .	235

*Vol. X, 1961*

ÅKE W. SJÖBERG: Ein syllabisch geschriebener Urnammu-Text . . . . .	3
STEN V. WÄNGSTEDT: Aus der demotischen Ostrakonsammlung zu Uppsala. V	13
NILS SIMONSSON: Audumbarāyana's Theory of Sound . . . . .	22
BENGТ JULIUS PETERSON: Der Totenfresser in den Darstellungen der Psycho-	
stasie des altägyptischen Totenbuches . . . . .	31
GEORGES DUMÉZIL: Chah-Meymun. Texte oubykh, traduit et commenté . . . . .	41
WALTHER BJÖRKMAN: Aus der altanatolischen Literatur . . . . .	81
FRITHIOF RUNDGREN: Semitische Wortstudien . . . . .	99
OSCAR LÖFGREN: Ergänzendes zum apokryphen Johannesevangelium . . . . .	137

*Vol. XI, 1962*

HJALMAR LARSEN: Die Merimdekeramik im Mittelmeermuseum Stockholms . . . . .	3
STEN V. WÄNGSTEDT: Eine Kalksteinscherbe mit demotischer Aufschrift . . . . .	89
OSCAR LÖFGREN: Äthiopische Wandamulette . . . . .	95
CARL NYLANDER: Bemerkungen zu einem Inschriftenfragment in Pasargadae . . . . .	121
GÖSTA LIEBERT: Indoiranica . . . . .	126

*Vol. XII, 1963*

AGNES GEIJER: A Silk from Antinoë and the Sasanian Textile Art . . . . .	3
STEN V. WÄNGSTEDT: Einige demotische Urkunden der Ostrakonsammlung im „British Museum“ . . . . .	37
OTTO MEINARDUS: The Syrian Jacobites in the Holy City . . . . .	60
BENGТ JULIUS PETERSON: Der Gott Schesemu und das Wort <i>mdd</i> . . . . .	83
FRITHIOF RUNDGREN: Ein iranischer Beamtenname im Aramäischen . . . . .	89
FRITHIOF RUNDGREN: Das Verbalpräfix <i>yu-</i> im Semitischen und die Entste- hung der faktiv-kausalitischen Bedeutung des D-Stammes . . . . .	99
S. V. WÄNGSTEDT & B. J. PETERSON: Zwei Altertümer aus der Zeit der Anch- nesneferibre . . . . .	115
OSCAR LÖFGREN: Unbekannte arabische Texte in der Ambrosiana . . . . .	122

*Vol. XIII, 1964*

BENGТ JULIUS PETERSON: Zur Schreibung hethitischer Personennamen im Ägyptischen . . . . .	3
GUN BJÖRKMAN: Egyptology and Historical Method . . . . .	9
OTTO MEINARDUS: The Zequala, the Holy Mountain of Ethiopia . . . . .	34
FRITHIOF RUNDGREN: Ablaut und Apothematismus im Semitischen . . . . .	48
PAUL ESSABAD: Armenian <i>hariur</i> 'hundred' . . . . .	84
SVEN S. HARTMAN: Aspects de l'histoire religieuse selon la conception de l'Avesta non-gäthique . . . . .	88
DAVOUD MONCHI-ZADEH: Neopersische Randglossen . . . . .	119
GÖSTA LIEBERT: Ai. <i>nīcāra-</i> statt <i>nīcāb</i> als Gebirgsname . . . . .	126
GÖSTA LIEBERT: Indoiranica . . . . .	136

*Vol. XIV, 1965–Vol. XV, 1966*

PETERSON, BENGТ JULIUS: Two Egyptian Stelae . . . . .	3
PETERSON, BENGТ JULIUS: Drei koptische Kleintexte . . . . .	9
WÄNGSTEDT, STEN V.: Demotische Ostraka aus der Sammlung des Ashmo- lean Museums in Oxford . . . . .	16
WÄNGSTEDT, STEN V.: Eine demotische Rechtsurkunde aus Gebelén . . . . .	45
MEINARDUS, OTTO: Patriarchal Cells in the Nile Delta . . . . .	51
RUNDGREN, FRITHIOF: A propos d'une hypothèse nouvelle concernant la pro- venance du morphème <i>qatal-a</i> . . . . .	62
RUNDGREN, FRITHIOF: Aramaica I . . . . .	75
HARTMAN, SVEN: Die vorflutlichen Chaldäer in arabischer Überlieferung . .	89
HARTMAN, SVEN: Der grosse Zarathustra . . . . .	99
UTAS, BO: Old Persian Miscellanea . . . . .	118
NYLANDER, CARL: Remarks on the Urartian Acropolis at Zernaki Tepe . .	141
LIEBERT, GÖSTA: Zu den Benennungen der Narde-Pflanze im Sanskrit . .	155
KANGLE, R. P.: Meghadūta, st. 25 . . . . .	169

## C O N T E N T S

PETERSON, BENGT J.: Archäologische Funde aus Sesebi (Sudla) in Nord-Sudan . . . . .	3
PETERSON, BENGT J.: Fragmente aus einem Totenbuch der 18. Dynastie . . . . .	16
WÄNGSTEDT, STEN V.: Demotische Steuerquittungen nebst Texten andersartigen Inhalts . . . . .	22
MEINARDUS, OTTO: The Theological Issues of Contraception in the Coptic Church . . . . .	57
DROZDÍK, LADISLAV: Towards Defining Structural Level of Stem in Arabic . . . . .	85
SCHEIBER, ALEXANDER: Von zwei mittelalterlichen Darstellungen des Juden . . . . .	96
RUNDGREN, FRITHIOF: Turcica . . . . .	99
MONCHI-ZADEH, DAVOUD: Notes on the Kūfic Inscription of the Royal Palace of Mas'ūd III at Ghazni . . . . .	113
JEWETT, IRAN B.: Matthew Arnold's Version of the Episode of Sohrab . . . . .	127
NYLANDER, CARL: Who Wrote the Inscriptions at Pasargadae? . . . . .	135
PARPOLA, ASKO: On the Jaiminiyaśrautasūtra and Its Annexes . . . . .	181
LIEBERT, GÖSTA: Nochmals <i>nīcāira-</i> . . . . .	215
Book Reviews . . . . .	220
Works received . . . . .	235

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